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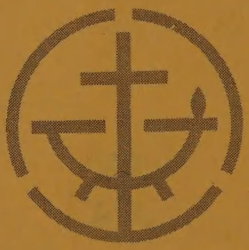

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OGLETHORPE; A MEMOIR.

A MEMOIR

OF

GENERAL JAMES OGLETHORPE,

ONE OF THE EARLIEST REFORMERS OF PRISON DISCIPLINE IN ENGLAND,

AND THE

FOUNDER OF GEORGIA, IN AMERICA.

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BY

ROBERT WRIGHT,

AUTHOR OF 'THE LIFE OF GENERAL WOLFE.'

"One, driven by strong benevolence of soul,
Shall fly, like OGLETHORPE, from pole to pole."
Pope.

LONDON:
CHAPMAN AND HALL, 193, PICCADILLY.
1867.

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PREFACE.

"I KNOW no man," said Doctor Johnson, speaking of the subject of this Memoir, "whose life would be more interesting; if I were furnished with materials I should be very glad to write it." Edmund Burke, also, told Oglethorpe that he looked upon him as a more extraordinary person than any he had ever read of; for he had called a Province into existence, and lived to see it become an independent State.

Boswell informs us that when Johnson urged Oglethorpe "to give the world his Life," the General seemed unwilling then to enter upon the task; but upon a subsequent occasion communicated to him a number of particulars which he committed to writing. Boswell, however, adds that he was not sufficiently diligent in obtaining information from the active and vigorous old General, whose friends, notwithstanding his great age, did not apprehend that they were so soon to lose him. It is questionable whether Boswell's

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notes were of much value; at all events it would appear that he did not preserve them, for his representatives have assured a gentleman who kindly made inquiry for me at Auchinleck that nothing of the kind is to be found amongst the family papers.

An American writer has truly observed that, the life of Oglethorpe was so full of variety, adventure, and achievement, that it would require but little embellishment to make it a tale of romance. It was the fine combination of chivalry and philanthropy in his character, graced as it was by a variety of accomplishments and the love of letters, that excited the admiration of Johnson, called forth the eulogy of Pope, and induced Thomson to celebrate the praises of the prisoners' friend and the founder of Savannah.

Yet to this day, throughout a time, too, which has produced numberless 'Lives' of much less remarkable men, England has furnished no biography of James Oglethorpe, the precursor of Howard, the establisher of a Colony and defender of others, the generous patron of many rising authors, some of whom afterwards left their marks in English literature, and a man whose long career abounded with incident. Nor has the omission been caused by insufficiency of materials; industry and perseverance only were necessary to gather and arrange the scattered fragments.

America has shown less indifference to the memory of him who colonized one of her States. In 1841, T. M. Harris, D.D., published 'Memorials of James

Oglethorpe,'—a work which it would not become a follower in a similar track to disparage. I may nevertheless repeat what the author himself admits, that it is necessarily imperfect, as he had not access to those official documents which yield the most authentic information. Oglethorpe's career has also been the theme of various Addresses, which are contained in the Collections of Historical Societies in the United States.

I have endeavoured, by availing myself of the numerous original papers relating to Georgia which are preserved in our Record Office, by attentive study of the Wesleys' and other contemporary journals, by diligent search through County Histories and the periodicals of the time, and by visiting the localities of Oglethorpe's English residences, to collect everything connected with my subject. These gatherings I have carefully sifted, and have moulded the residue into the volume which I now submit to the reader, with the hope that I may not have vainly attempted to revive in England the memory of

"One that with justice may
Increase the number of *her* worthies."

R. W.

April 16, 1867.

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MEMOIR

OF

GENERAL JAMES OGLETHORPE.

CHAPTER I.

1689—1728.

The family of Oglethorpe, we are told by a local historian of high repute, was very ancient. Before the Normans set foot on English ground, the progenitors of our hero held the estate of Oglethorpe, in the parish of Bramham, West Riding of Yorkshire: and tradition says that, at the time of the Conquest, one of the race, being Reeve or Sheriff of that county, was condemned by the Conqueror for opposing his designs. The estate, however, continued in the family until the Civil War between Charles I. and his Parliament, when several of the name—adds our authority—"died at once in the bed of honour, being slain in a battle near Oxford, of the King's party."*

William of Oglethorpe, who died in 1634, was the last who enjoyed undisturbed possession of the family

* Thoresby's 'History of Leeds,' p. 253.

inheritance. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Sutton, who, on account of his loyalty, was mulcted by Parliament in the sum of £20,000 ; when his estate, having been sequestrated, was eventually forfeited, and fell to the lot of Fairfax.* Sutton of Oglethorpe left two sons, of whom the younger was Theophilus, who soon after the Restoration entered the army as a private gentleman in the Life Guards. In 1677 he attained the rank of Lieutenant, and in the following year was appointed Major of the newly-raised regiment of Royal Dragoons ; but the corps being shortly afterwards disbanded, he resumed his previous post. On the insurrection of the Covenanters, in 1679, he was ordered to Scotland with a small body of cavalry ; he led the advance-guard, on the march towards the Clyde, of the troops commanded by the Duke of Monmouth, and subsequently, by his conduct at the battle of Bothwell Bridge, proved himself a most efficient officer.

In 1684 he became Lieutenant of the 3rd troop of Life Guards, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, and in the summer of 1685 King James II. sent him with a squadron against the insurgents under his late rash commander. While on this duty, he displayed great zeal for the Royal cause. On the 25th of June, at the head of about a hundred men, he dashed into Keynsham, scattered two troops of rebel horse, and, after inflicting much injury upon those who ventured to oppose him, retired with little loss.† The night before the battle of Sedgmoor, Lieut.-Colonel Oglethorpe

* Manning and Bray, 'History of Surrey,' vol. i. p. 610.

† See Lord Macaulay's 'History of England.'

was dispatched towards Bristol, to make a reconnaissance, but he rejoined the Royal army in time to take part in the fight, and the gallantry with which he led the Life Guards contributed materially to the victory gained by the Royalists. In reward for his distinguished conduct he was honoured with knighthood, and promoted to the colonelcy of the 'Holland,' or 3rd Regiment of Foot, now known as the Buffs.*

Sir Theophilus also attained the rank of Major-General, and the office of First Equerry to James II., who entrusted him with a command in the army assembled to oppose the Prince of Orange. After the Revolution, owing to his fidelity towards the late Sovereign, from whom he had received many favours, he was deprived of his regiment: but had saved sufficient to purchase, in the year 1688, the manor of Westbrook, near Godalming, Surrey. He married Eleanor, daughter of Richard Wall, Esq., of the county Tipperary, and Katherine de la Roche, of the Lord Roche's family in Ireland, which was connected by intermarriage with the Scottish house of Argyle. Having represented the borough of Haslemere in the Parliaments 10th and 12th William III., he died on the 10th of April, 1702, in the fiftieth year of his age, and was buried in the church of St. James, Westminster, where a monument to his memory was erected by his relict, who outlived him thirty years.

Lady Oglethorpe seems to have had considerable political influence in the court of Queen Anne, and was on

* Cannon's 'Records of the British Army.' Third Regiment of Foot.

intimate terms with Swift. She was a thorough Jacobite, and appears to have been a match for the time-serving parson, who, in allusion to some party intrigue, with his usual coarseness represents her as "so cunning a devil" that he believed she could find a remedy if they would take her advice.*

Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe had seven surviving children,—three sons, Lewis, Theophilus, and James; and four daughters, named respectively, Anne, Eleanor, Frances Charlotte, and Mary.† Lewis, the eldest son, inherited his father's estate, and likewise represented Haslemere in the first Parliament of Anne. It would seem that he was a hot-tempered youth, for Evelyn informs us that he fought with Sir Richard Onslow on occasion of some words which passed between them at a Committee of the House, when he was disarmed.‡ He was Equerry to the Queen, as well as aide-de-camp to Marlborough; and, having been severely wounded at the battle of Schellenberg, in July, 1704, died, not long afterwards, at the Hague, in his twenty-fourth year.

Theophilus, the next brother, who was born in 1682, succeeded to the Westbrook estate. He, too, saw some

* Letter to Stella, 12th of December, 1711.—Swift's Works (Scott), vol. ii. p. 444.

† Anne Oglethorpe, who figures in the 'Narrative of Frances Shaftoe,' was an active partisan of the Stuarts. She resided for some time at the court of St. Germain, and in 1722 the Pretender awarded her the title of a Countess of Ireland. Eleanor, who died in 1775, aged ninety-one, married Eugene Maria Bethisy, Marquis de Maziere; and Frances Charlotte wedded the Marquis de Bellegarde, a Savoyard. Anne and Mary remained single.

‡ Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 370.

military service, acted as aide-de-camp to the Duke of Ormond; and was also M.P. for Haslemere, in the 7th and 9th years of Queen Anne's reign. In February, 1714, he was an unsuccessful candidate for the same borough, and petitioned against the return, but the petition not being signed by himself was rejected. For some unknown, but probably political, reason, he soon afterwards retired to Sicily, and subsequently settled in France, where he died without issue.* He imbibed the Jacobite principles of his parents; and, in the list of honorary titles bestowed by the Pretender upon his leading adherents, the name of Theophilus Oglethorpe is found amongst those of Barons created in 1717.†

James Oglethorpe, the subject of this memoir, was born, as appears from the parish register of St. James's, Westminster, on the 1st of June, 1689, and baptized on the following day.‡ The circumstances attending his childhood and early education are wrapped in obscurity; he, however, matriculated, as had his elder brothers, at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and, like them also, he soon quitted the seat of learning for an active military life. It would appear from some of those anecdotes which Dr. Johnson delighted in hearing from Oglethorpe's own lips in after life that, previous to entering the English army, he had served for a few years as a gentleman volunteer abroad.

Boswell relates that, dining one day in the year 1772, in company with Johnson and Goldsmith, at the

* Manning and Bray, 'Surrey,' vol. i. p. 610.

† See 'Notes and Queries,' 3rd S. vol. ix. p. 71.

‡ See Appendix I.

General's house, in Old Palace Yard, the question having been started—Whether duelling is consistent with moral duty? the veteran fired up, and with a lofty air replied,—"Undoubtedly a man has a right to defend his honour." He then illustrated his argument by the following reminiscence:—When a very young man ("I think," says Boswell, "only fifteen"), serving under Prince Eugene of Savoy, he was sitting at table in company with a Prince of Wurtemberg, who took up a glass of wine, and, by a fillip, made some of it fly into Oglethorpe's face. The young soldier was in a dilemma. He durst not challenge so distinguished a personage, yet he must notice the affront. Therefore, keeping his eye upon his Highness, and smiling all the time, as if he took what had been done in jest, Oglethorpe exclaimed, "That's a good joke, but we do it much better in England," whereupon he flung a whole glassful of wine into the Prince's face. An old general who was present, observed, "Il a bien fait, mon Prince, vous l'avez commencé;" and thus the affair ended in good humour.*

A remarkable ghost story, likewise repeated by Boswell, may be appropriately inserted here as a retrospect of Oglethorpe's early years. An officer named Prendergast, in the Duke of Marlborough's army, mentioned to many of his friends that he should die on a certain day, which he named. On that very day there was a battle with the French. When the fight was determined, Prendergast, being still alive, was jocosely asked by his brother-officers, "Where is your

* 'Life of Johnson,' chap. xxvii. (Friday, April 10, 1772.)

prophecy now?" He gravely answered, "I shall die to-day, notwithstanding what you see." Soon afterwards there came a shot from a French battery to which orders for a cessation of arms had not yet reached, and Prendergast was killed upon the spot. Colonel Cecil, who took possession of his effects, discovered in the pocket-book of the deceased a memorandum stating that Sir John Friend, with whom he had been connected, and who was executed for high treason in 1696, had appeared to him and mentioned the fatal day. It is added that Oglethorpe said he was with Colonel Cecil when Pope came and inquired into the truth of the story, which made a great noise at the time, and was then confirmed by the Colonel.* It further appears from a note by Boswell's editor that Sir Thomas Prendergast, Colonel of the 22nd Foot, was killed at Malplaquet on the 31st of August, 1709. Nevertheless, Mr. Croker impugns Oglethorpe's veracity, because no trace could be found of any *Colonel* Cecil in the army at that period. The anecdote, however, does *not* imply that Cecil was a Colonel in 1709; nor is it by any means improbable that the well-known Jacobite, Colonel William Cecil, who was sent to the Tower in 1744, was the man.†

James Oglethorpe, it is stated, entered the English army, as an Ensign, in 1710, and still bore that rank when peace was proclaimed, in 1713.‡ In the follow-

* Some account of Colonel Cecil may be found in Dr. King's 'Anecdotes of his own Times,' pp. 36–39.

† See 'Boswell's Life of Johnson,' by the Right Honourable John Wilson Croker, ed. 1860, p. 35, n. 7, and p. 241, n. 2.

‡ 'European Magazine,' 1785.

ing year, says Harris, "he is known to have been in the suite of the Earl of Peterborough, Ambassador from the Court of Great Britain to the King of Sicily and to other Italian States; whither he was fellow-traveller with the Rev. Dr. George Berkeley, his lordship's chaplain." The biographer gives Nichols as his authority;* and, by way of corroboration, adds that Dr. Berkeley, in a letter to Thomas Prior, Esq., dated Turin, January 6, 1714 N.S., says that he travelled from Lyons in company with Colonel Du Hamel and Mr. Oglethorpe, Adjutant-General of the Queen's Forces, who were sent with a letter from my Lord to the King's mother at Turin.† Now James Oglethorpe assuredly was not, at this period at least, an Adjutant-General; but his brother Theophilus, who, as we have seen, about this very time retired to Sicily, was most probably the "Mr. Oglethorpe" mentioned by Berkeley. We must, therefore, however reluctantly, reject the pleasing inference drawn by the compiler of the 'Memorials,' viz. that this early companionship between Oglethorpe and him to whom Pope assigned every virtue unto heaven, may have influenced the mind of the former, and afforded opportunity of concerting plans of usefulness and beneficence, the objects of which were apparent in the after life of each.‡

In 1714, according to the inscription on his monument, James Oglethorpe was Captain-Lieutenant of

* 'Literary Anecdotes,' vol. ii. p. 19.

† 'Bishop Berkeley's Works' (Dublin), vol. i. xxx.

‡ 'Biographical Memorials of James Oglethorpe' (Boston, U.S., 1841), p. 4.

the first troop of the Queen's Life Guards; but preferring active duty abroad to an idle life at home, he soon afterwards went to the Continent, in order to perfect himself in the art of war under Prince Eugene. During several campaigns in Germany and Hungary he stored up much useful knowledge, and appears to have received some preferment in the Emperor's service. It is asserted that he was recommended by his patron, John, Duke of Argyle, to the notice of Prince Eugene, who received him upon his staff first as Secretary, and afterwards as aide-de-camp.

Harris, deducing cause from effect, expatiates at considerable length upon our young soldier's chivalric gallantry and personal bravery, as well as his attentive observation of the discipline, manner of battle array, onset of the forces, military tactics, etc., by which he acquired that knowledge of warfare which he subsequently turned to useful account. To all this and such-like imaginings the intelligent reader does not require to be prompted. The American biographer also tells us that at the battle of Peterwaraden, fought between the Austrians and the Turks on the 5th of August, 1716, Oglethorpe, "though present, was not perhaps engaged." Yet, in very magniloquent language, he fights the battle over again. But, as we have no data whatever which concern us, we must, even at the sacrifice of Janissaries, Spahis, Tartars, Walachians, Serene Highnesses, Grand Viziers, and other high-sounding names, refrain from following the example of our good pastor, who exhibits more ingenuity in improving his subject, than skill in showing how

fields are won. We may, nevertheless, take it for granted that Oglethorpe, who on this occasion acted as aide-de-camp, by his prompt attention to the orders dictated to him, his alertness and fidelity in communicating them, and his fearless exposure in passing from one division to another, gained commendatory acknowledgments and the increased favour of his Serene Highness.*

Dr. Harris, with the assistance of long extracts from Russell's 'Modern Europe,' and Campbell's 'Military History of Prince Eugene,' likewise enlarges upon the siege of Belgrade by the Austrians in 1717.† But, so far as relates to Oglethorpe, all we know for certain is that he was present, and there acquired a high and deserved military reputation.‡ To this may be appended an interesting scene from Boswell:—"Pray, General," said Doctor Johnson, "give us an account of the siege of Belgrade." Upon which the old warrior poured a little wine on the table, and with a wet finger described every position, saying, "Here we were, here were the Turks," and so on; while the Doctor listened with the closest attention.§ The peace concluded between the Emperor and the Sultan in 1718

* 'Biographical Memorials of James Oglethorpe,' p. 6.

† Boswell's elucidator erroneously says, "*By the Turks*, in 1739." (Croker, ed. 1860, p. 240, n. 2.)

‡ 'Gentleman's Magazine,' 1785, p. 573.

§ 'Life of Johnson,' chap. xxvi. (Friday, April 10, 1772). Pope, in a letter to Blount, dated "September 8, 1717," says, "I hope you took part in the rejoicing for the victory of Prince Eugene over the Turks," to which Warton subjoins this note:—"At which General Oglethorpe was present, and of which I have heard him give a lively description."

left Oglethorpe without active military employment abroad; he therefore soon afterwards took leave of his illustrious commander, and returned to England.

On the death of his brother Theophilus he succeeded to the family estate and resided for some years at Westbrook, close by Godalming, from which it is separated by the brook that gives name to the house situated on its western bank. This mansion, a large structure erected in the reign of Charles II. by Sir John Platt, son of the ejected rector of West Horsley, still remains, though greatly transformed by the renovations of various tenants.* It stands at the foot of a steep height, by which it is sheltered on the north, the ground in front gradually sloping down towards the rich meadow-lands through which the river Wey pursues its course to the Thames. In the rear was a small park, of which some noble trees yet exist, and the site of an extensive garden commands a delightful prospect embracing the ancient town and steepled church of Godalming, and bounded by numerous hills, running in various directions, their sides laid out in cornfields interspersed with hanging woods.

There is a tradition, in which persons of all classes

* William de Westbrook died seized of the manor in 1437; and from his family it passed by marriage into that of the Hulls, by whom it was conveyed to the Rev. John Platt. After the death of Mrs. Oglethorpe in 1787, it was purchased by Godbold, proprietor of the Vegetable Balsam, when that popular quack doctor placed a figure of Fame upon the parapet of the house, of which he published an engraving with doggrel lines eulogistic of himself and his nostrum. Westbrook is now in the possession of G. J. Hull, Esq., to whom, and more especially to Mrs. Hull, I am indebted for considerable local information.

in the neighbourhood have implicit faith, that the Pretender was once secreted at Westbrook; and a vault is shown wherein he could be concealed in case of emergency. He used, we are told, to walk in the avenues in the early morning and again in the twilight, with a large cloak thrown over him; and some rustics, on their way along the path between Godalming and the hamlet of Hurtmore, happening to see this strange figure, thought it must be a ghost. Lady Oglethorpe, it is added, encouraged this delusion, in order to keep people away from the place, which to this day has the reputation of being haunted.

In October, 1722, James Oglethorpe was for the first time elected one of the members for Haslemere, in the county of Surrey, which ancient borough and market-town he continued to represent, through various changes of administration, for two-and-thirty years. Previous to the passing of the Reform Bill Haslemere returned two members, the right of election being vested in freeholders within the borough and manor; and before the union of interests in the Earl of Lonsdale it was the scene of many costly contests.*

Oglethorpe began his political course at a critical period. The Jacobites, encouraged by the popular discontent occasioned by the bursting of the South Sea bubble, began to think of making a new attempt to restore the Stuarts; but the same want of harmony and secrecy attended this as every other scheme of theirs to alter the line of succession. George I., who

* Britton's 'Beauties of England and Wales,' Surrey, p. 238.

had formed alliances with most of the European sovereigns, was informed by the Regent of France that a conspiracy was hatching against his government. Consequently the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Orrery, Doctor Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, and several other suspected persons of less note were sent to the Tower; but, with the exception of the Bishop and of Christopher Layer, a young Templar, who was condemned and executed for having enlisted recruits for the Pretender, all were acquitted, owing to lack of evidence against them.

In the House of Lords the cause of Atterbury, who was intimately connected with the leaders of the Tory party, was warmly pleaded; but the bishops exhibited great animosity against him. Wherefore Lord Bathurst, turning to the episcopal bench, said he could hardly account for the malignity with which some persons pursued the learned prelate, unless they were infatuated with the superstition of those savages who believe that they inherit not only the spoils but the abilities of any great man whom they destroy.*

Oglethorpe's parliamentary career was thoroughly independent and consistent. He proposed and supported many measures for the benefit of commerce and the amelioration of grievances; and he was distinguished in the House rather for what he effected than for what he said. Yet he spoke frequently, and always to the point. He delivered his opinions frankly; and his speeches, if not eloquent, were earnest and intelligent. His political principles were high Tory; but

* Parliamentary Debates, vol. viii., 333.

whatever degree of sympathy he may have inherited for the misfortunes of the Stuarts, he was ever a loyal subject to the dynasty under which he served, and an ardent advocate of the Protestant succession.

His first essay in debate was in the year 1723, when the Commons went into committee upon the Bill for inflicting certain pains and penalties on the Bishop of Rochester. When they came to the insertion of the penalties it was moved by one of the court party that Atterbury should be deprived of his office and benefice, banished the kingdom, be guilty of felony if he returned, and that it should not be in the King's power to pardon him without the consent of Parliament. Mr. Lawson, one of the Opposition, having represented that as the evidence was all hearsay or conjecture, and therefore not to be depended on, the Bishop ought not to be punished,—Mr. Oglethorpe expressed a similar opinion, but, observes our authority, gave it another turn. "It is plain," said he, "that the Pretender has none but a company of silly fellows about him; and it is to be feared that if the Bishop, who is allowed to be a man of great parts, should be banished, he may be solicited to go to Rome, and there be in a capacity to do more mischief by his advice than if he were suffered to stay in England under the watchful eye of those in power."* These remarks were, at least, shrewd; but though the evidence was notoriously deficient and contradictory, the majority voted for the act whereby the unfortunate prelate was banished. On arriving at Calais, Atterbury met Lord Bolingbroke

* Parliamentary Debates, vol. viii., 216.

returning from exile, and greeting him with a smile, exclaimed, "We are exchanged."

No remarkable incident relating to Oglethorpe seems to have occurred from the date of his maiden speech in the House of Commons, until he distinguished himself as the champion of the oppressed and the reformer of a great national evil. The next chapter of this Memoir must, therefore, be appropriated to the first stage—so to speak—of his beneficent labours.

CHAPTER II.

1729—1731.

About thirty years before Howard began his philanthropic career, Oglethorpe's "vast benevolence of soul" was accidently moved on behalf of suffering debtors. He had been for some time acquainted with Mr. Robert Castell, an ingenious gentleman eminently skilled in architecture, who, though born to a competent estate, became involved in debt, and was arrested. Castell was first carried to a sponging-house attached to the Fleet Prison and kept by one Corbett, an underling of the Warden. On giving security, by virtue of "presents," as they were called, to the latter, whose name was Thomas Bambridge, he obtained the Liberty of the Rules, but at length becoming no longer able to gratify the Warden's appetite for refreshers, that insatiate officer ordered him to be recommitted to Corbett's, where the smallpox then raged! Poor Castell having informed Bambridge that he had never had that disease, and was in great dread

of it, earnestly implored to be sent to some other sponging-house, or even into the gaol itself. But though the monster's own subordinates were moved to compassion and endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose, he forced his unhappy prisoner into the infected house, where he caught the small-pox, of which he died after a few days, leaving a large family in the greatest distress, and with his last breath charging Bambridge as his murderer.*

Mr. Oglethorpe, who had visited Castell in his affliction, being afterwards convinced that the hardships and barbarities inflicted upon him by the Warden of the Fleet had caused his death, from that moment resolved to use his utmost endeavours to put an end to such national grievances. With this view he communicated his thoughts to several influential friends, who readily concurred in his public-spirited design. Having brought the subject before Parliament, a Prison Visiting Committee, consisting of fourteen members of the House of Commons, was appointed, and Oglethorpe nominated chairman.†

The committee determined to enter upon their task by an investigation into the state of the Fleet Prison. This ancient gaol was originally used for the confinement of prisoners committed by the Council-table,

* Mr. Robert Castell was the author of 'The Villas of the Ancients Illustrated' (large folio). This costly work was published by subscription in 1728; and in the list of subscribers is the name of James Oglethorpe, Esq., for two copies. After the author's death, as appears from an advertisement in Fog's Journal, July 5, 1729, a few copies remained to be disposed of for the benefit of his unfortunate widow and family.

† 'Political State of Great Britain,' vol. xxxvii. p. 463.

better known as the Court of Star-Chamber. This court, having exercised unlimited authority and inflicted punishments not warranted by any law of the realm, was at last found to be an intolerable burden upon the subject, and the means of supporting despotism and arbitrary government. Consequently it was dissolved by an Act of Parliament in the reign of Charles I.; and the privileges of the Wardens of the Fleet to receive fees from archbishops, bishops, peers, and others of lower degree, or to put such persons in irons, was abolished.* The prison was then appropriated to the confinement of debtors and persons committed for contempt of court, and fell under the same regulations as other gaols; but, instead of complying with these regulations, the Wardens continued to exercise the most unwarrantable power, not only in extorting exorbitant fees, but in oppressing prisoners for debt, and even loading them with irons as in the days of the Star-Chamber.

It appears from a patent of Elizabeth, recited by Charles II., that the prison was called the Queen's gaol of the Fleet. These letters patent granted the office of Warden, and that of Keeper of the Old Palace at Westminster, with the shops in Westminster-hall, and certain tenements adjoining the Fleet, to Sir Jeremy

* It appears from the following extract that the Warden was also an officer of Parliament:—"It is ordered that the Speaker, in the name of the House, should command the Warden of the Fleet (which is a minister of this House), that two of his servants should attend at the stair-head by the door of the Lower House, to repress and apprehend lacqueys and servants, and to bring them to the House.—2 Feb. 23, Eliz."—'Harleian Miscellany,' vol. v. p. 267.

Whichcot and his heirs for ever, and in consideration for these grants Sir Jeremy rebuilt the prison, which together with the custody of prisoners thus became freehold property. Falling by inheritance or purchase into the hands of persons incapable of executing the duties of Warden, the old patent was set aside; and the celebrated Lord Clarendon sold the office to John Huggins for the sum of £5000. During Huggins's wardenship many debtors in large sums escaped; and one Thomas Dumay, while nominally in his custody, made several voyages to France, and there bought wines, some of which were delivered to the Warden. Dumay, it further appears, acquired considerable credit abroad, but when his bills became due the merchants discovered that he was a prisoner within the Rules, and that they had no remedy. At length Huggins, in 1728, sold his vested interest to Bambridge, who was in the enjoyment of the office when the Committee of Inquiry commenced their labours.

On Tuesday, the 27th of February, 1729, the Committee entered upon their duty by visiting the Fleet. They examined several imprisoned debtors, one of them being Sir William Rich, who, in consequence of a dispute between him and the Warden, was loaded with heavy irons. They ordered that he should be instantly relieved; but no sooner had they withdrawn than Bambridge, in contempt of their authority, reloaded the unfortunate baronet with chains, in which condition he was found next day when the Committee unexpectedly revisited the gaol. Mr. Oglethorpe, as their chairman, represented these circumstances to

the House of Commons, when it was "resolved that Thomas Bambridge, Warden of the Fleet, having misused in a very cruel and barbarous manner Sir William Rich, now a prisoner in his custody, for having given evidence before a Committee of this House, is guilty of a high indignity of this House, and breach of privilege thereof." Whereupon he was committed to the charge of the Sergeant at Arms.

The Fleet prison was divided into two classes, the 'Common Side' and the 'Master's Side.' On the Common Side were three wards, called the 'Upper Chapel,' the 'Lower Chapel,' and 'Julius Cæsar's.' In these wards were crammed ninety-three persons, and many of them, who were too poor to provide beds for themselves, or to pay a shilling weekly for a share of one, were obliged to lie upon the bare floor. The Women's Ward, and one distinguished by the title of 'The Lion's Den,' are sufficiently described as very noisome and in ill repair. On the Chapel stairs were several rooms occupied by debtors who could afford to pay at the rate of £5 yearly for each, and upon the same floor were cells containing wretches, who were uncertain what chamber-rent they were compelled to pay, being, as they said, at the mercy of the Warden. In some of these cells were miserable creatures who, though sick of various distempers, lay together on the floor; and two women, who had been ordered to lie with another, suffering under the small-pox, paid two shillings and tenpence a week for the "accommodation."

Notwithstanding the payment of large fees by debt-

ors, Bambridge, in order to extort further sums, exercised unlimited power in changing his prisoners from ward to ward, turning them into the Common Side, although they had paid the Master's Side fee, and inflicting arbitrary punishments by locking them down in loathsome dungeons, and torturing them with shackles. Nor was the inhuman monster content with the lucre gained by these and other barbarities, which would seem almost incredible were they not unquestionably proved; for even when death had released from his gripe such of his prisoners as were not paupers, he endeavoured to appropriate to himself their furniture and other effects within the precincts of the gaol.

Yet Bambridge, like other such "great men," as Fielding called them,* was not above his price. He connived at the escape of several of his prisoners, and amongst them one Boyce, a smuggler who was charged at the King's suit with upwards of £30,000. On the other hand, the sponging-houses, which every reader of Fielding's or Smollett's novels can picture to himself, served the purpose of the Warden—as in poor Castell's case—to strike terror into those who enjoyed the Liberty of the Rules, and would not, or could not come up to his terms. There were three of these dens adjoining the Fleet, occupied by tenants of Bambridge, and, at the time of the Inquiry, in one of them were confined six-and-twenty persons, each of whom paid two shillings a day for the privilege.

It was proved that the income of the Warden derived from the annual "gifts" of those who had the freedom

* 'The Life of Mr. Jonathan Wild the Great.'

of the precincts, amounted to nearly £3000; and, in the year 1728, his legal fees, rents, and various other emoluments made up £2000 more,—pretty good interest on an investment of £5000. Moreover, he had the patronage of several offices, the holders of which had paid him upon their initiation sums ranging from £150 to £1500. Nevertheless, vile though he was, it would be unfair to attribute solely to the Warden evils which arose out of the venal nature of the system through which he held his post. It followed, as a matter of course, that he who had purchased the uncontrolled power to punish, should sell his forbearance dear.

On the 20th of March, Mr. Oglethorpe presented to the House the First Report of the Committee, which he read in his place, and afterwards moved that the King should be requested to direct his Attorney-General to prosecute Bambridge, Huggins, and others, for their several crimes. The motion was unanimously carried, and the said persons were ordered to be committed to Newgate. A bill was at the same time brought in to disable Bambridge from exercising any authority as Warden of the Fleet, and another Bill, for the better regulation of that prison.*

* Huggins was soon afterwards tried for the murder, by maltreatment, of Edward Arne, when the jury found a special verdict which, according to a decision of the Court of King's Bench, amounted to acquittal. Bambridge's first trial for the murder of Mr. Castell took place at the Old Bailey, on the 22nd of May, 1729, when the jury acquitted him; but, Castell's widow having appealed to the Court of King's Bench, he was tried a second time, and again acquitted. He was subsequently committed on a charge of felony, but the Recorder, Sir William Thompson, being a member of Parliament, declined to

The labours of Oglethorpe and his associates to correct the grievous abuses which they brought to light, though alas! too soon forgotten, were universally applauded at the time; and their contemporary, Thomson, alludes to them in his undying lines:—

"And here can I forget the generous band
Who, touched by human woe, redressive searched
Into the horrors of the gloomy jail,
Where misery moans unpitied and unheard,
Where sickness pines, where thirst and hunger burn,
And poor misfortune feels the lash of vice?
. . . . . .
Ye sons of Mercy! yet resume the search;
Drag forth the legal monsters into light;
Wrench from their hands oppression's iron rod,
And bid the cruel feel the pains they give."*

Mr. Oglethorpe, on the 14th of May, delivered the Second Report of the Committee, stating what progress they had made in their inquiries into the condition of the Marshalsea, and of the Palace-court prison of Westminster; also the further progress of their investigations concerning the Fleet.

The prison of the Marshalsea formerly appertained to the Court of the Marshalsea of the King's household, and to the Court of Record of the King's Palace, Westminster.† The officer who had the custody of the pri-

judge the case. Bambridge's trial was therefore adjourned until December, and although he made no defence, he was finally discharged.—'State Trials,' vol. xvii.

* Thomson's 'Seasons,' *Winter*, I. 359–388.

† The customs of the Court of Marshalsea were most corrupt. The first who endeavoured to stem the tide of corruption was the Duke of Argyle, who, when Lord Steward, scorned to share in the spoils of the unfortunate, or take money arising from the sale of offices, and made an excellent precedent (which was very much disliked by the practising

soners was styled Deputy Marshal, and he received his appointment from the Knight Marshal for the time being. It appears that in November, 1720, Sir Philip Meadows, then Knight Marshal, constituted John Darby his deputy; and that Darby afterwards let the prison with the profits arising from lodgings, and other perquisites, to a butcher named Acton, at a yearly rent of £340. Acton, to make his bargain as advantageous to himself as possible, left no kind of artifice or means of oppression and intimidation untried. He encouraged among his old and hardened prisoners, the practice of forcing those newly committed to pay "garnish," and of levying fines upon one another under frivolous pretences. The money thus exacted was spent at the tap-house; therefore those scoundrels who were most active in keeping up their cruel games were favoured by the gaoler as the best friends of the house. So openly permitted were these practices, that a table of garnish fees was hung up in each room. Some fines amounted to so much as seven shillings and sixpence; and any unhappy wretch who had not money to pay them was riotously surrounded by his fellow-prisoners, who stripped him of his clothes,—a custom which, in their slang phrase, they called "letting the black dog walk."

Acton, to swell his profits, ordered his servants at the Lodge to obstruct those who brought provisions to their friends; and under the cloak of searching for prohibited liquors, they rudely assaulted poor women who carried scanty supplies to their unfortunate husbands.

officers of the court), that of appointing officials, not for their money, but for their merit.—*Report.*

The sums extorted by the gaoler, though often of very small amount, were considerable to many who were confined for debts of one shilling; for by the usage of the Court of Record, processes were issued for the smallest sums. Yet, though the cause of action were no more than one penny, proceedings might be carried on till the costs amounted to above forty shillings, whereupon the debtor was cast into prison; and even when creditors relented, as they sometimes did, the debtors were still detained until the prison fees were discharged.

Many individual cases of suffering are related in the Report; but they are of too painful and loathsome a nature to be repeated. On the Common Side of the Marshalsea were confined more than 330 persons, most of whom were in the utmost distress. The prisoners were locked up in their respective wards from eight o'clock at night to eight the next morning, and upon no occasion whatever could any of them get out. In low rooms, not sixteen feet square, thirty, forty, nay fifty human beings were crammed. The floor not being sufficient for the number of sleepers, half of them were suspended in hammocks; and so tainted was the atmosphere that during the previous summer several prisoners had perished from want of air. The so-called Sick Wards were still worse. Along the walls of each room boards were laid upon trestles, "like a dresser in a kitchen;" and under these boards, between the trestles, one tier of sick men lay upon the floor; on the "dresser" was another tier; and overhead a third in hammocks.

When a poor prisoner had worn out the charity of his friends, consumed the money which he had raised upon his clothes and bedding, and having eaten his last allowance of food, was no longer able to stand, provided he could raise threepence, the fee of the common nurse of the gaol, he was carried into the sick ward, where he lingered until Death released him. A day never passed without a death, and in spring usually from eight to ten prisoners died every twenty-four hours. Many well-disposed persons left money and other contributions which would have sufficed for the maintenance of the destitute, but these donors in concealing their names through fear of ostentation, enabled the gaoler and his miscreants at the Lodge to pervert the charity moneys and defraud those for whose relief they were intended. The Begging Box also was an institution which yielded a rich harvest to the Deputy Marshal and his myrmidons. Yet the practice of farming it was not peculiar to the Marshalsea; for the prisoners in the Fleet were cheated in the same manner.

Moreover, the Lodge-keepers had a set of idle hangers-on whom they employed in carrying out their nefarious schemes, and indulged by allowing them to go out as messengers. These fellows were, in fact, voluntary prisoners, and whenever pious persons came secretly to discharge some poor debtor, such scoundrels were produced as the most proper objects of charity. When their pretended debts and fees were paid they formally left the prison, but in a little time returned to repeat the same trickery. Besides such villains as these, it appears that pirates also were confined in the

Marshalsea; and these desperate, abandoned ruffians were suffered to mix indiscriminately with the unfortunate though not criminal occupants of the Common Side. As this was a gaol for the meanest description of debtors, there were usually within it many poor but honest sailors whom the lawless rovers, by their conversation and their vaunts of the glorious life they led at sea, endeavoured to seduce to the same reckless courses.

The conduct of these pirates and smugglers had been so insufferable that, to avoid their evil communications, several decent prisoners, who had hitherto patiently borne hunger and every other trial, attempted to escape by breaking a hole in the prison wall. Some of them were detected in the act, and the Deputy-Marshal made the circumstance an excuse for resorting to the Thumbscrew. Seizing one of the culprits, in order to make him confess the names of all his accomplices, Acton and his men, in the words of the report, "screwed certain instruments of iron upon his thumbs, so close that they forced the blood out of them, with exquisite pain. After this he was carried into the Strong Room, where they fixed on his neck and hands an instrument called a collar, like a pair of tongs; and he being a large lusty man, when they screwed the instrument close his eyes were ready to start out of his head, the blood gushed out of his ears and nose, he foamed at the mouth and made several motions to speak, but could not. After these tortures he was confined in the Strong Room for many days, with a very heavy pair of irons, called shears, on his legs."

The keepers of the Marshalsea assumed more than magisterial authority; they not only judged cases and decreed arbitrary penalties, but unmercifully carried out their own sentences. The miscreant Acton, in addition to the barbarities already mentioned, had another and still more revolting punishment for those who had incurred his displeasure. He actually coupled the living with the dead, and frequently locked up his prisoners for days in the same yard with unburied corpses. An appalling case of this kind is circumstantially related in the Report.* On the motion of Oglethorpe bills were passed to disable Acton and his deputy Darby from longer holding their offices, and they were sent to Newgate to await their trials.

It does not appear that Darby was prosecuted; but four bills of indictment were preferred against Acton for the murders of prisoners named Bliss, Brownfield, Newton, and Thompson, and he was tried at the Spring assize held at Kingston in 1729. The evidence was conflicting, and the culprit was acquitted in every case. He therefore begged to be discharged, but Baron Carter, the presiding judge, having some reason to be dissatisfied, refused to comply with the request. Mr. Strange, the prisoner's counsel, desired that Mr. Paxton, who conducted the case for the Crown, would interfere, but that gentleman went out of court. Strange then requested of Mr. Oglethorpe,—who, as a member of the Committee of Inquiry, attended in order to give any explanation that might be necessary,—to express

* Evidence of Thomas Bliss, carpenter, for the murder of whom Acton was afterwards tried.

his opinion; whereupon Oglethorpe, with his native love of fair play, replied:—"Were I the prosecutor I should desire the prisoner might be released; not that I think him innocent, but that every Englishman, let him be never so unjustly acquitted, hath, by the Habeas Corpus Act, on his acquittal a right to be discharged; nor can any subornation of perjury, or any management of a jury, prevent it, for they are cognizable at another time. . . . The Attorney-General was ordered to prosecute by the Crown; and it is he or his representative who should answer this question, and not I." It seems evident from Oglethorpe's remarks, together with the refusal of the judge, that they both believed the jurors to have been tampered with. However, the prisoner was set at liberty.*

The Committee's further account of their investigations into the state of the Fleet consists chiefly of the horrifying stories of Mr. Arne, Oliver Read, Sir William Rich, and others who had been subjected to Bambridge's maltreatment. Those who delight in sensational reading will—if facts can yield them as much pleasure as fiction—find much thrilling matter in the Report.†

On the 11th of May, 1730, Mr. Oglethorpe delivered the Third Report of the Committee, relating the result of their inquiries into the state of the King's Bench

* Acton, on leaving the court, was arrested on a fifth charge of murder, when his counsel moved that he might be admitted to bail; but the court refused to look into the informations, and remanded the defendant, who lay in prison until the next assizes. The grand jury then ignoring the bill, he was finally discharged.—'State Trials,' vol. xvii., 564.

† See 'Political State of Great Britain,' 'Parliamentary Debates,' etc.

prison, with their resolutions thereon, and having read them to the House, he afterwards laid them, with their appendices, upon the Clerk's table. This prison belonged to the Court of King's Bench, and the keeper was styled "Marshal of the Marshalsea of our Sovereign Lord the King, before himself being." The office formerly appertained to the Earls Marshal of England, who usually sold the appointment without taking any security for the safe custody of the prisoners.

In the year 1724, the Marshalship was let to Richard Mullens, at an annual rent of £700,—a sum which could not possibly be made up without the greatest extortion and corruption. It appears that when debtors were detained for very large amounts, the Marshals were wont to accept large bribes from their prisoners, and suffer them to escape; and, if the plaintiff recovered against the Marshal, he turned himself into his own gaol, which was accommodated periodically with a sort of gaol-delivery. There were consequently frequent changes of officials, and each new Marshal, besides the above exorbitant rent, on being sworn in, was obliged to pay one hundred guineas to the Lord Chief Justice, and fifty guineas to each of the puisne Judges of the Court. It was always customary for him to present their Lordships with Christmas-boxes of twenty guineas to the chief and ten guineas to each of the others.

The number of prisoners was 657; the gaol was in bad repair, and not capable of sheltering one-half of its occupants. The Common Side was divided into little cabins or dens, the floors of which were eight feet below the level of the ground. However, no charge of

violence or cruelty was brought against John Mullens, who was then Deputy-Marshal; but, on the contrary, "he had done many acts of compassion, and his free confession and satisfactory answers entitled him to favour rather than to blame."

Parliament was soon afterwards dissolved, but magistrates were nominated to meet during the recess, to adjust the fees of every debtors' prison, and make other wholesome regulations. Various gaols throughout the country were inspected, and the Irish Parliament appointed a committee similar to that which had exposed so much evil in England. During two or three years, much of Oglethorpe's time was occupied by the painful task he had imposed upon himself, and the first results of his labours caused him to consider whether something might not be done to improve the condition of those persons who, through want of occupation, were most exposed to the risk of imprisonment for debt. The issue of his reflections and studies upon this subject will appear in due course. Meanwhile, as the next chapter will show, he did not neglect other public duties, nor confine his sympathies within a small circle.

CHAPTER III.

1731—1732.

England, notwithstanding the increase of her trade, consequent upon a long term of peace, had cause to wish for a change of ministerial policy on the accession of George II. She was involved in a maze of treaties and conventions, by which she was bound in subsidies to several Continental Powers, with whom her true interests were in no wise concerned; and her resources were squandered not only upon these foreign connections, but also upon a system of internal corruption, which enabled the Government to secure a majority in Parliament. Sir Robert Walpole's experience, as head of the Treasury, had taught him where his means of influence lay, and he was sagacious enough to convert the depravity of the time to his own advantage. The few who presumed to act independently were stigmatized as Jacobites; and public spirit became almost extinct.

On the opening of the new Parliament, the two Houses vied in expressions of loyalty and affection towards his Majesty. Large supplies were voted without question, and the civil list was considerably augmented. The next Session was equally tame, but during that which followed, petitions poured in from the merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool, complaining of the injury their West Indian trade suffered from the depredations of the Spaniards. The people took alarm and raised a clamour throughout the kingdom, which excited warm controversies in the House of Commons, attended by bitter reflections upon the conduct of the Government. The debates of 1731–2 were therefore remarkably spirited. "The Minister's motions," says Smollett, "were attacked with all the artillery of elocution. His principal emissaries were obliged to task their faculties to their full exertion, to puzzle and perplex where they could not demonstrate and convince, to misrepresent what they could not vindicate, and to elude the arguments which they could not refute."

The King, in his speech, pronounced that the general tranquillity of Europe was re-established by the late treaty of Vienna, whereby the Pragmatic Sanction had been confirmed; he recommended unanimity, and observed that the prosperity and happiness of his subjects had no foundation but in the defence and support of his Government. In the Commons, Lord Hervey, Vice-Chamberlain of the Royal Household, moved an address, expressing the confidence of the House in the wisdom of his Majesty's councils; acknowledging the

blessings they enjoyed under his Government; and declaring their readiness to grant the necessary supplies. The motion was opposed by several Members, who, though not adverse to a general address of thanks, disapproved of expressions which implied a blind acquiescence in every ministerial measure. Amongst the opposition was Mr. Oglethorpe, who is described by his contemporary as "a gentleman of unblemished character, brave, generous, and humane."*

Oglethorpe commenced his speech by observing that, he did not consider the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction a matter of much consequence; there were many other things which related more closely to the honour and interest of the nation. He wished he could have heard that the new works at Dunkirk had been razed; that we had received full and complete satisfaction for the many depredations committed by the Spaniards; that more care was taken in arming the country and disciplining the militia; and, having alluded to a recent panic occasioned by the marching of some French troops towards the coast nearest to England, he added, in words equally applicable to more recent times:—

"We have, it is true, a standing army of good regular forces; but I hope this nation will never be brought so low as to have nothing to trust to for defence but their standing army. Our army bears but a small proportion of the whole body of the people; they can cover but a small part of our coast from an invasion, and therefore care should be taken to keep

* Smollett, 'History of England,' vol. iii. chap. iv.

up military discipline and a warlike spirit among our militia throughout all parts of this kingdom; for, whenever we are threatened with an invasion, our safety and our barrier, next to our fleet, must depend upon them. It is to them chiefly we must trust our defence against the landing of a foreign enemy; and if they once come to lose entirely the use of arms or the knowledge of military discipline, an enemy that can, either by cunning or accident, escape our fleet, may land with little danger, and do a deal of mischief before a sufficient number of our regular forces can be brought together to oppose them."

As to foreign affairs, he further remarked that, considering how grievously the Protestants of Germany had been oppressed by the Imperial family, he could have wished with all his heart that care had been taken of them in the treaty lately made with the Emperor; but, as the Dutch had not yet acceded, he hoped that something might still be done for those persecuted people, by Holland insisting upon such amendments as were necessary for the common good of Europe, and particularly of the Protestant religion.* "In the meantime," he concludes, "I am pleased to find that we are not now so closely united to France as we for-

* The poor people to whom Oglethorpe alluded were chiefly natives of Salzburg, an Archbishopric and Duchy of the Austrian dominions. Although an industrious and inoffensive race, their adherence to the doctrines of the Reformation caused the Imperial government to persecute them; until, at last, in 1732, the Protestant states obtained leave for them to emigrate. Of about 30,000 persons who departed, the majority settled in Prussia. In England a large sum was subscribed for their relief; and a considerable number of Salzburgers soon afterwards found a refuge in the new colony of Georgia.

merly were; for I have observed that when two dogs are in a leash together the stronger generally runs away with the weaker, and I am afraid this was something of the case between France and us."*

The ministerial motion was vigorously supported by Mr. Pelham, Paymaster of the Forces, and ultimately carried.

Oglethorpe possessed a vein of quaint humour which is often perceptible in the piquant allusions and anecdotes that illustrate the sound common sense of his arguments and give animation, if not force, to the homeliness of his language. We have had a specimen of such in the conclusion of the above speech, and shall find another in his next. A Bill was introduced by the Government for granting encouragement to our West Indian sugar-colonies; but as it was founded upon a prohibition which would put a stop to all commerce between the French islands and our North American settlements, it met with strong opposition from those who were particularly interested in the prosperity of our northern provinces, as well as from those who, like Oglethorpe, entertained more comprehensive views. As usual he was in the minority; for the Commons had still to pass through more than a century of strife ere they were compelled to give way to the Free Trade principles which he so long anticipated. Upon the first reading of the Bill, on the 28th of January, he spoke as follows:—

"In all cases which come before this House when there seems to be a clashing of interests between one

*'Parliamentary Debates,' vol. viii. 875.

part of the country and another, or between one set of people and another, we ought to have no regard to the particular interest of any country or set of people; the good of the whole is what we ought to have under our consideration. Our colonies are all a part of our dominions; the people in every one of them are our own people, and we ought to show an equal respect to all. I remember, Sir, that there was once a petition presented to this House by one county, complaining that they were very much injured, in their trade as to the sale of beans, by another, and therefore they modestly prayed that the other county should be prohibited to sell any beans!

"Such things may happen; I hope it is not so at present: but in the case before us, if it should appear that all our plantations upon the continent of America are against that which is desired by the sugar colonies, we are to presume, at least, that the granting thereof will be a prejudice to the trade or particular interests of our continent settlements. And surely, Sir, the danger of hurting so considerable a part of our dominions,—a part so extensive as to reach from the 34th to the 46th degree of northern latitude—will, at least, make us incline to be extremely cautious in what we are going about. I shall be as ready as any man to give all possible relief and encouragement to our sugar colonies; but if the relief or encouragement asked for appear to be an injury to the whole, or if it appears that it will do more harm to the other parts of our dominions than it can do good to them, we must refuse it; we must think upon some other methods of putting them upon

an equal footing with those who are their rivals in any particular branch of trade."*

On the second reading, Oglethorpe spoke in a similar strain; but the Bill being patronized by the Court interest, in spite of the most valid objections raised against it, passed into a law.

The subject on which he next spoke was of private rather than of national concern. It was one, however, in which he felt deeply interested, as it related to branches of industry which he not only desired to encourage at home, but hoped to introduce into the new colony upon which his thoughts had long been bent. Sir Thomas Lombe had, at great expense and difficulty, constructed silk-throwing machinery, of, as was then considered, most curious and intricate structure, and had been granted a patent for fourteen years; but as the term would have expired before he could bring his manufacture to perfection, he presented a petition to the House of Commons, praying for an extension of time. A member having spoken in favour of the petition, Mr. Oglethorpe added that, since the petitioner had, at his own cost and hazard, introduced a useful manufacture, he ought to meet with all proper encouragement, and represented that one engine was then at work in the town of Derby, by which the whole of that county was improved, and many of the poor were employed who otherwise would probably have been a burthen upon their respective parishes.

In reply to objections which were subsequently started against the renewal of the patent, Oglethorpe

* 'Parliamentary Debates,' vol. viii., 920.

again stood up, and explained that the Act for limiting the king's patents to the term of fourteen years was passed in the reign of King James I. The bubbles and monopolies which arose, and the many enormities committed about that time and some years before had become a public grievance; and the reason for making that law was, to prevent the setting up of any such bubbles or monopolies hereafter.

"The petitioner," he continued, "has never so much as endeavoured to make a bubble of this affair, nor has he even grasped at the setting up of any unlawful monopoly. He pretends to nothing else but what every author of a new invention is reasonably entitled to, that is, to have the sole use of his own invention for so long a time as may be a just recompense to him for the hazard and expense he has been at in bringing his invention to perfection. If he can show to this House that he has not yet had such a recompense as is sufficient, we are not confined by the former law. We not only may, but we ought to bring in a Bill for prolonging the time of his patent; or we ought to grant him such other recompense as may be deemed proper and reasonable."

Oglethorpe then demonstrates that the difference between the price of raw silk and of *organzine* was so much gained by the nation, the eight shillings per pound, or fifty *per cent.*, added to the value of the commodity being produced by the labour and industry of our own people; "and since," he concludes, "this gain can be made only by the means of his engine, we must grant that this gentleman has, at his own hazard

and charge, brought home a very useful and profitable branch of trade to his own country, for which he certainly deserves a recompense. If he can show that he has not as yet a recompense by means of the patent granted to him, either because of the difficulty of bringing his invention to perfection or because of inevitable accidents that have occurred, his case ought to be considered; and the only proper way to inquire into this matter is to refer his petition to the consideration of a committee."*

In the year 1707, a company was founded in London, under the title of 'The Charitable Corporation.' The professed object was to lend small sums of money, at moderate interest, to the poor, and larger sums to tradesmen and others of respectable character, upon adequate security. The capital, which at first was limited to £30,000, was from time to time augmented, by licences from the Crown, to £600,000, though their charter was never confirmed by Act of Parliament. In October, 1731, George Robinson, the cashier, and John Thompson, the warehouse-keeper, disappeared on the same day. The proprietors, alarmed by this incident, appointed a committee to investigate the state of their affairs, when it was discovered that no equivalent could be found for £570,000 of the capital, inasmuch

* Lombe's patent was not renewed; but the sum of £14,000 was granted to him on condition that he should allow models of his machines to be made. This was accordingly done, and the models were exhibited. See an interesting account of the introduction of the silk manufacture into England, in 'A Treatise on the Manufactures and Machinery of Great Britain,' by Peter Barlow, F.R.S.—'Encyc. Metropolitana' (Mixed Sciences, vol. vi. p. 709).

as all the available effects were valued at no more than £30,000, the remainder having been embezzled by some means they could not detect. The corporate seal also was missing.

The shareholders, in a petition to the House of Commons, represented that by gross breach of trust in several persons to whom the management of the business was committed, the corporation had been defrauded of the bulk of their funds, and that many of the petitioners were consequently reduced to the greatest distress. They, therefore, prayed that as they were unable, without the aid of Parliament, to unravel the artifices of those who had ruined them, or to bring the delinquents to justice, the House would vouchsafe to inquire into the state of the corporation, and the conduct of the managers; and grant such relief to those who were impoverished as might be deemed proper. Oglethorpe, whose ears were ever open to the cry of the oppressed, on the reading of the petition, expressed his sentiments upon the matter, thus :—

"Sir, I am persuaded that this petition will be received in a manner deserving of the unhappy case of the sufferers, and of the justice of this House. I can hardly expect that any gentleman that has the honour to be a member of this House will oppose giving all the relief we can to such a number of unhappy people, who have been so much cheated and injured. Yet, because I have heard it whispered without doors that we ought not to receive this petition, upon account—as is pretended—that the Common Seal was not regularly affixed thereto, I think it necessary to take some notice

of that objection, in case any such be made. I must say that, if there be any irregularity as to the affixing of the public seal of that company to this petition, it is in my opinion so far from being an objection to our receiving the petition, that it is a very strong reason for it. If there be any fault in form, it is the fault of those who had the keeping of the common seal, and as they may perhaps be some of those against whom the complaint is made, and who, upon inquiry, may be found to be the guilty persons, we are therefore to look upon any neglect in form to be a wilful fault, and a plot laid for preventing the truth being brought to light. Such plots will, I hope, be always defeated by the wisdom of this House; and whenever it can be discovered that any frauds have been committed, or any indirect practices used by those who have the keeping of the common seal, this House will, I hope, make use of that power with which it is by our constitution invested, for detecting and punishing the criminals.

"For my own part, I always was for encouraging the design upon which this corporation was at first established. People may call it 'charitable,' or not as they please; but I always looked upon it as an act of charity to let necessitous persons have money to borrow upon easier terms than they could have it elsewhere. Money like other things is but a commodity, and, in the way of dealing, the use thereof, as well as of other things, is looked upon to be worth as much as people can get for it. If this corporation let necessitous people have the use of their money at a cheaper rate than any other persons would lend money at, they

were certainly useful to the public, and were so far to be reckoned a Charitable Corporation; and if they had asked more than was usual to be given, they could not have had any customers. The design was, therefore, in itself good and useful; but the better the design was, the more those persons deserve to be punished, who by their frauds have disappointed the public of reaping the benefit which might have accrued by an honest and faithful execution of so good an undertaking."*

The petition was graciously received, and a secret committee was appointed to prosecute an inquiry. It soon became evident that a most iniquitous series of frauds had been perpetrated by Robinson and Thompson, in concert with some of the directors. It further appeared that many persons of rank participated in this infamous conspiracy. Sir Robert Sutton and Sir Archibald Grant were expelled the House of Commons; some of the first characters in the kingdom did not escape suspicion and censure; and a Bill was brought in to prevent these and other offenders from leaving the country or alienating their property.

The foregoing specimens, though they do not represent all the subjects upon which Oglethorpe spoke during the sessions of 1731–2, will suffice to show his mode of expressing himself upon those questions in which he felt most deeply interested. He also occasionally exercised his pen. In conjunction with a few of the most respectable members of the Opposition, he had previously published a little pamphlet called 'The

* 'Parliamentary Debates,' vol. viii. 939.

Sailor's Advocate,' in which the evils attending impressment for the sea service, and the abuses countenanced by the Admiralty were clearly exposed.* In similar patriotic labours he now employed that small portion of his time which was not devoted to the promotion of a still nobler object. But, before we accompany him upon his grand enterprise, it will be necessary to notice the condition of the territory which then formed the southern limits of our North American possessions.

* 'The Sailor's Advocate,' the authorship of which is attributed to Oglethorpe, was first printed in 1728; and the seventh edition, with an Introduction supposed to be by Mr. Granville Sharpe, appeared in 1777.

CHAPTER IV.

1732.

The extensive territory south of the river Savannah had long been a kind of border-land between the settled possessions of England and Spain in North America. Spain claimed it, as indeed she did all America, by virtue of the Pope's donation, and included it, as well as the Peninsula which still bears the name, under the general denomination of Florida. In the reign of Charles IX. a few French Protestants, under the protection of Admiral Coligny, formed a settlement upon the coast, but were dislodged by the Spaniards, who in their turn were driven away by the natives. From that time the whole country between Virginia and the Peninsula was abandoned by Europeans, until our King Charles II., in right of the first discovery by Sebastian Cabot, made a grant thereof to the Earl of Clarendon and seven other Lords Proprietors, by charter bearing date the 29th of March, 1663, when a constitution for the Plantation of South Caro-

lina was framed by Locke after the plan of Plato's Model Republic, which, however, signally failed. The English first settled at Port Royal, in 1670, and the proprietory government continued until 1719, when South Carolina became a royal province.

Although several treaties between England and Spain had been made in the meantime, in none of them were the boundaries of the territories belonging to the two Crowns clearly defined, and the Spaniards still persisted in their claim. They therefore threw every obstacle they could in the way of British planters. In the beginning of the eighteenth century South Carolina was thickly stocked with negroes, many of whom were allured to Florida, where they were formed into a black regiment entirely composed of fugitive slaves. The Carolinians had consequently to defend themselves against the invasions of these negroes and their Spanish masters, as well as against the incursions of hostile Indians. For these reasons, the people of South Carolina were exceedingly desirous that a new British colony should intervene between their own province and the recognised limits of their troublesome southern neighbours.

With this object in view several futile projects were started at home and in America. The most remarkable was that of Sir Robert Montgomery, of Skelmorley in the shiredom of Aire, who in the year 1717, ingeniously planned (upon paper) a grand Utopian settlement to be styled the Margravate of Azilia. The worthy Baronet informed the public in his 'Discourse' that he was excited by an earnest inclination to esta-

blish such a colony as might by new means yield new benefits as well in wealth as in safety; and that he resolved to proceed upon a scheme entirely different from any hitherto attempted, and which appeared to promise great and inexpressible advantages. The colonists were to be hired in Great Britain and Ireland, on the condition of binding themselves to serve faithfully for a term of years; but gentlefolks were not to be excluded. The whole colony, of which Sir Robert hoped to become the proprietor, was to form a vast square enclosed by ramparts with bastions, etc. In the middle of the plan is what the projector calls a hollow square, full of streets crossing each other. This represents the city, exactly in the centre of which stands the Margrave's house. The rest of the space is divided into one hundred and sixteen squares, each with a house in the middle, to be allotted to gentry, who, being so confined to an equality in land, would be emulous of outdoing each other in improvement, since that was the only way to grow richer than their neighbours.* This will suffice to give the reader an idea of Sir Robert Montgomery's notions, and serve as a specimen of other schemes quite as impracticable and little less absurd.

These illusory projects were nevertheless beneficial in revealing to Oglethorpe that an opening existed for the profitable employment of poor debtors such as many of those with whose sad lots he had, through

* 'A Discourse concerning the Establishment of a new Colony to the south of Carolina, in the most delightful Country of the Universe.' By Sir Robert Montgomery, Bart., *London*, 1717.

his prison-visiting experience, become familiar. His study also of the several schemes, which had been suggested for the colonization of the south-eastern frontier of South Carolina, enabled him to avoid their fundamental errors. As the furtherance of his purpose demanded much more pecuniary means than he could command, and a broader basis of managing power than any individual could exert, he sought the co-operation of wealthy and influential personages in his beneficent enterprise. In concurrence with his views twenty-one associates petitioned the throne for an act of incorporation, and obtained a charter dated the 9th of June, 1732, for settling and establishing the colony of Georgia in America, the future State being so called in honour of the King, during whose reign it was founded.

Oglethorpe, having been so far successful, immediately wrote and published anonymously an admirable essay, in which he pointed out the advantages, motives, and general object of an emigration such as he designed, and invited the attention of those whom he desired should avail themselves of it. In the third chapter of this work he says :—" Let us cast our eyes on the multitude of unfortunate people in this kingdom of reputable families and of liberal education: some undone by guardians, some by lawsuits, some by accidents in commerce, some by stocks and bubbles, some by suretyship; but all agree in this one circumstance that they must either be burthensome to their relations, or betake themselves to little shifts for sustenance which, it is ten to one, do not answer their purposes,

and to which a well-educated person descends with the utmost constraint. These are the persons that may relieve themselves and strengthen Georgia by resorting thither, and Great Britain by their departure.

"I appeal to the recollection of the reader—though he be opulent, though he be noble—does not his own sphere of acquaintance furnish him with some instances of such persons as have been here described? Must they starve? What honest heart can bear to think of it? Must they be fed by the contributions of others? Certainly they must, rather than be suffered to perish. I have heard it said, and it is easy to say so, 'let them learn to work; let them subdue their pride, and descend to mean employments; keep ale-houses, or coffee-houses, even sell fruit, or clean shoes, for an honest livelihood.' But alas! these occupations and many others like them, are overstocked already by people who know better how to follow them than do they whom we have been talking of. As for labouring, I could almost wish that the gentleman or merchant who thinks that another gentleman or merchant in want can thrash or dig to the value of subsistence for his family, or even for himself; I say I could wish the person who thinks so were obliged to make trial of it for a week, or—not to be too severe—for only a day. He would then find himself to be less than the fourth part of a labourer, and that the fourth part of a labourer's wages could not maintain him. I have heard a man may learn to labour by practice; 'tis admitted. But it must also be admitted that before he can learn he may starve. Men whose wants are importunate

must try such expedients as will give immediate relief. 'Tis too late for them to begin to learn a trade when their pressing necessities call for the exercise of it."

To the objection which might be made, that such persons were unable for the drudgery of agriculture, he replies that in Georgia they would have land for nothing, and that land so fertile as to yield a hundred-fold increase. "Give here in England," he adds, "ten acres of good land to one of these helpless persons, and I doubt not his ability to make it sustain him; but the difference between no rent and rack rent is the difference between eating and starving." After stating that the primary object of the new colony was the relief of people in the condition he described, he concludes the chapter by saying,—"The unfortunate will not now be obliged to bind themselves to a long service to pay for their passage, for they may be carried *gratis* into a land of liberty and plenty, where they will immediately find themselves in possession of competent estates in a happier climate than they knew before; and they are unfortunate indeed if they cannot forget their sorrows."*

In accordance with the express desire of the original Trustees, clauses were inserted in their charter re-

* 'A New and Accurate Account of the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia.' This pamphlet, and 'An Essay on Plantations; or Tracts relating to the Colonies,' both the productions of Oglethorpe, were printed by Bowyer in 1732. (Nichols, Lit. Anecs., vol. ii. p. 17.) It exhibits much historical and geographical knowledge, the reasonings and observations being "the result of various readings and conversations in many years." From the Preface it appears that the successful plantation of Derry by the Corporation of London encouraged the author to hope for no less success in Georgia.

straining them from receiving any salary, fee, perquisite, or profit whatsoever, by or from the undertaking; and also from obtaining any grant of lands within the district either themselves or in trust for them. No colony, as Southey justly remarks, was ever established upon principles more honourable to its projectors. Nor did the subsequent conduct of the Trustees discredit their profession.* These gentlemen, having first set the example by contributing largely to their laudable scheme, undertook to solicit benefactions from others. Their appeal was liberally responded to by private persons of every rank, as well as by public institutions, and Parliament granted them the sum of £10,000.† The money was to be applied towards the expense of feeding, clothing, arming, and transporting such poor people as they should select from those who offered to go over and begin the settlement. They did not confine themselves to British subjects, but made a way of deliverance to oppressed and indigent Protestants of other countries. To prevent any misappropriation of their funds they opened an account with the Bank of England, where a register was kept of the names of benefactors and the amount of their donations. They also bound themselves to lay an an-

* 'Life of John Wesley,' vol. i. p. 179.

† This was the remainder of a grant arising from the sale of lands in the island of St. Christopher's, which had been voted but never paid to Dr. Berkeley, towards the establishment of a college in Bermuda for the education of Indian missionaries. The portion of the Princess Royal, on her marriage with the Prince of Orange, was derived from the same source, leaving a residue, which Oglethorpe, having first obtained Berkeley's sanction, induced the Government to appropriate to the colonization of Georgia.

nual statement of their receipts and expenditure before the Lord Chancellor and the Chiefs of the other courts of law.

The Trustees held a meeting about the middle of July for the purpose of electing officers and establishing rules for the transaction of business. For the authentication of their official documents they adopted a seal with two faces; one for legislative acts, deeds, and commissions; the other, or Common Seal, to be affixed to grants, orders, and certificates. The device on the first consisted of two male figures resting upon urns, from which flowed streams representing the rivers forming the northern and the southern boundaries of the Province. In the centre was seated the Genius of the colony with a cap of liberty on her head, a spear in one hand, and a cornucopia on the other, and around was the legend COLONIA GEORGIA AUG. On the other face was a representation of silkworms in various stages of their labours, and the characteristic motto NON SIBI SED ALIIS. The inscription announced the disinterested motives of the Trustees, while the device was typical of a special object which they had in prospect.

They had learned that the mulberry-tree was indigenous in Georgia, and that the climate was particularly favourable to the silkworm; and conceived that the care of the worms would furnish employment for the women and children, the old and infirm, without impeding the more imperative work of the labourers. The Trustees, therefore, engaged persons in Italy acquainted with the methods of feeding the worms and winding the silk from the cocoons, who were to sail

with the first settlers and instruct them in the various processes. It was Oglethorpe who induced his associates to embark in this promising speculation. He had, as we have seen, when Sir Thomas Lombe's inventions were brought before Parliament, endeavoured to encourage silk-weaving in England; and he now considered that if Georgia should produce the raw material the vast sums which were annually expended upon foreign silks might be saved to the nation. This, however, proved to be one of his many prospective measures for the advancement of the colony and for the general good, which, as has been observed, were a century in advance of the age.

As soon as the Trustees had made their preliminary arrangements they gave public notice that they were ready to receive applications from those who were disposed to emigrate. They at the same time appointed a committee to visit gaols and obtain the discharge of such poor debtors as were worthy of their charity. They also nominated another committee to investigate the characters and circumstances of applicants. The ends to be gained being not only to provide for those who could not subsist at home, but also to settle a frontier which was exposed to the depredations of an enemy, much discrimination was necessary in the selection of colonists lest the Trustees might sacrifice the future welfare of the province to their own humane feelings.

As the heads of families and able-bodied young men were to be soldiers as well as planters, they were provided with arms for their defence, and until the time

of their departure were daily drilled in military discipline by sergeants of the Royal Guards. After their arrival in Georgia towns were to be laid out for settlement, and, that the inhabitants might not have occasion to be far distant, a portion of land was to be allotted to each family as near as possible to the towns, so as to allow every man, in case of emergency, to fly to his post of defence. The martial strength of the province being of primary importance, it was thought proper to establish such a species of tenure as would tend to equalize the number of soldier-planters and the number of land lots within a narrow compass. Therefore each lot was to be held as a military fief, and to consist of as much land as was sufficient for the comfortable support of a farmer and his family. Fifty acres were judged to be enough.

For many reasons it was determined to prohibit slavery within the province. It was calculated that the varieties of produce to which the projectors desired to direct the attention of the colonists would not require such heavy labour as to make the assistance of negroes necessary; and it was apprehended that if those who might go to Georgia at their own expense were permitted to import slaves, it would discourage, if not ruin, the poor people who were intended to be the strength of the colony. The Trustees, as we shall see, subsequently obtained Acts of Parliament for this prohibition and for other salutary measures.

Thirty-five families, comprising one hundred and twenty persons, men, women, and children, were selected for the first embarkation. Amongst them were

carpenters, bricklayers, farmers, and labourers, who were supplied with all requisite implements. On the 24th of October they were questioned whether they objected to any of the proposed conditions. Four of them desired that daughters might inherit as well as sons, and that widows' dowers should be considered. The Trustees consequently resolved that every head of a family who so desired should have the privilege of naming a successor to the land granted him, in case he should die without male issue; and that widows should have their thirds as in England. With these terms the emigrants were well pleased, and testified their consent under their hands and seals.*

As may readily be conceived, there were many more applications than the Trustees could entertain, and crowds of miserable wretches, whom they were compelled, through insufficiency of funds, to reject, went away solemnly protesting that as they found it impossible to obtain employment of any kind they had no hope of surviving the winter.† A vessel which had been chartered to convey the emigrants was comfortably fitted up for their accommodation, and supplied with stores not only for the voyage, but for their support after their arrival in America. She was laden also with tools for building, implements of husbandry, domestic utensils, and various other necessary articles.

On the 6th of November, the adventurers—if those who had nothing to risk may be so called—embarked at Gravesend on board the 'Anne.' A few days after-

* M'Call's 'History of Georgia,' vol. i. p. 28.

† 'Political State of Great Britain,' vol. xlv. p. 180.

wards they were visited by the Trustees, who found them well satisfied, and delighted them with the intelligence that one who had determined to venture much for their welfare would accompany them. He who had released the prisoners from captivity and distress, and raised hopes of future prosperity in their breasts, was not the man then to forsake them; he would also be a sharer with them in all the dangers and fatigues likely to be incurred, and continue to watch over them until they should not only be in a condition to provide their own subsistence, but well able to defend themselves against every enemy they might have to encounter.

In the prime of life, very handsome, tall, and manly, dignified, but not austere,—the *beau idéal* of an English gentleman, and blessed with ample means for the gratification of every reasonable desire,—Oglethorpe resolved for a time to deny himself the pleasures of that refined intercourse for which his taste and accomplishments adapted him, to become the associate of the poor and ignorant. How many men there are who would fearlessly run up to the cannon's mouth, for one man capable of such moral courage! Not a few of his contemporaries, doubtless, considered him somewhat quixotic, and, indeed, it would appear that he had imbibed some of his sentiments from the old romances.*

* "My reading has been as idle as the rest of my employments, and, if I do not soon reform, I shall become a convert to the entreaties of my gay and gallant friend General Oglethorpe, who has long been trying to proselyte me to the old romance; gravely lamenting that the only fault I have is refusing to read the old romances; assuring me that it is the only way to acquire *noble sentiments*."—Hannah More to Mr. Pepys. July 17, 1784.

He found a higher exemplar, however, in Him who had not where to lay His head. Mr. Oglethorpe, having undertaking the office upon the condition that he was not to receive any salary or other recompense whatever, was empowered to exercise all the functions of a colonial Governor; and, on the 15th of November, 1732, set out for Gravesend, whither he was accompanied by his brother Trustees, who saw him on board and wished him good speed.

CHAPTER V.

NOVEMBER, 1731—APRIL, 1734.

The 'Anne,' commanded by Captain Thomas, sailed from Gravesend on the 16th of November, with about one hundred and twenty emigrants, who, besides Mr. Oglethorpe, were accompanied by the Reverend Henry Herbert, a Church of England clergyman, in the capacity of chaplain, and Mr. Amatis, a Piedmontese, who had been engaged by the Trustees to instruct the colonists in rearing silk-worms and the art of winding silk. Oglethorpe had not only furnished his cabin, and laid in provisions for himself and his servants at his own expense, but during the voyage he contributed largely towards the comfort of his poor fellow-passengers. The 'Anne' touched at Madeira, where she took in five tuns of wine, and, on the 13th of January, 1733, dropped anchor outside the bar of Charlestown harbour, South Carolina. All, except two delicate children who died on the passage, had been well on board, and arrived in good health.

Mr. Oglethorpe, having first called the emigrants

together, and returned thanks with them for the happy termination of their voyage, then went on shore, and waited upon His Excellency Robert Johnson, Governor of the province, who, together with his Council, received him warmly, and treated him with every mark of respect. Aware of the benefit which Carolina must derive from the new Plantation, they promised him every assistance in their power, and ordered the King's pilot to conduct the ship into Port Royal, some eighty miles southward, whence the colonists were to be conveyed in small vessels to the river Savannah. Next day the 'Anne' again set sail, and proceeded along the coast until she arrived off an island, on which Mr. Oglethorpe landed with a few men, whom he directed to prepare huts for the people, who were to disembark and wait there till he should have made further arrangements. Meanwhile he went on to Beaufort, a frontier town of South Carolina, and thence, accompanied by Mr. Bull who had been deputed by the Council to assist him, ascended the river which was to form the northern boundary of the new colony, in order to explore the country. After journeying about twenty miles they found a pleasant spot, and fixing upon it as the most eligible situation they could select, they marked out the site of a town which, from the name of the river that flowed past it, they called Savannah. During Oglethorpe's absence the immigrants had arrived at Beaufort, where he met them on the 24th. They celebrated the following Sunday as a day of Special Thanksgiving, in which they were joined by the families of some neighbouring

settlers, and were conducted by their Governor, on the last day of the month, to the place he had selected for their abode.

Glad to be released from the confinement of their close vessels, and to find themselves once more on dry land, they had little time to look about them, for they must prepare some means of shelter. So the men immediately set to work, and tore branches from the nearest pines, cedars, and evergreen oaks, with which to form rude tents or bowers. These were rapidly made by sticking two forked poles into the ground, and laying another on the top, over which were spread sheets, cloaks, and blankets. At night-fall a watch-fire was kindled, and when their Governor made his midnight round, all, except the sentinels he had posted to guard the encampment, seemed to be sunk in peaceful slumber. Next morning he again called the people together to thank God for His mercy in bringing them safely to the land of their adoption. Then, addressing them, he reminded them of their duties as the founders of a new colony, and told them that the seed sown by themselves would, morally as well as literally, bring forth its increase, either for good or for evil, in after generations. Above all, he warned them against drunkenness, from which some of them had already suffered. The importation of ardent spirits was illegal, but as, in spite of every care, rum might find its way amongst them, they must resist any temptation to which they might be exposed. This he recommended not only on their own account, but on that of their Indian neighbours. Experience had proved that the

red man soon became addicted to the habit of drinking European "fire-water," which was invariably fatal to him. "But it is my hope," added Oglethorpe, "that through your good example, the settlement of Georgia may prove a blessing, and not a curse to the native inhabitants." Then, having explained to his hearers that it was necessary they should labour in common until the site of the town was cleared, and having encouraged them to work amicably and cheerfully together, he dismissed them.

In a letter to his brother Trustees, dated February 10, 1733, Oglethorpe thus describes the situation of Savannah:—"The river here forms a half-moon, around the south side of which the banks are about forty feet high, and on the top a flat, which they call a bluff. The plain high ground extends into the country about five or six miles, and along the river for about a mile. Ships that draw near twelve feet water can ride within ten yards of the bank. Upon the river side, in the centre of the plain, I have laid out the town, opposite to which is an island of very rich pasturage, which I think should be kept for the Trustees' cattle. The river is pretty wide, the water fresh, and from the quay of the town you see its whole course to the sea, with the island of Tybee, which forms the mouth of the river. For about six miles up into the country the landscape is very agreeable, the stream being wide and bordered with high woods on both sides. . . . I am so taken up in looking after a hundred necessary things that I write short now, but shall give you a more particular account hereafter."

Oglethorpe, considering how important it was to obtain the consent of the natural proprietors of the soil to the settlement of the colony, and how desirable that the settlers should live on good terms with those in their vicinity, sought an interview with Tomo Chichi, the Mico, or chief, of a small tribe of Indians whose head-quarters was at a place called Yamacraw, two or three miles further up the river. Fortunately he met with a native woman who had married a Carolinian trader named Musgrove, and taking her with him as interpreter, he went to the Indian village.* The interview ended in a compact favourable to the new comers. But from the aged Mico Oglethorpe afterwards learned that beyond that immediate district the territory was claimed and partly occupied by other aboriginal tribes whose warlike power rendered it necessary to gain their consent. He, therefore, engaged Tomo Chichi to invite a deputation of these tribes to hold a conference with him at Savnnnah. In his next letter to the Trustees, on the 12th of March, he further informs them as follows:—

"This province is much larger than we thought, being 120 miles from this river to the Alatamaha. The Savannah has a very long course, and a great trade is carried on by the Indians, there having above twelve trading boats passed since I have been here. There are in Georgia, on this side the mountains, three considerable nations of Indians; one called the Lower

* Oglethorpe, finding that Mrs. Musgrove had great influence amongst the Indians, subsequently allowed her a liberal yearly stipend for her services.

Creek, consisting of nine towns, or rather cantons, making about a thousand men able to bear arms. One of these is within a short distance of us, and has concluded a peace with us, giving us the right of all this part of the country: and I have marked out the lands which they have reserved to themselves. Their King comes constantly to church, is desirous to be instructed in the Christian religion, and has given me his nephew, a boy who is his next heir, to educate. The two other nations are the Uchees and the Upper Creek: the first consisting of two hundred, the latter of eleven hundred men. We agree so well with the Indians that the Creeks and the Uchees have referred to me a difference to determine, which otherwise would have occasioned a war. Our people still lie in tents, there being only two clapboard houses built, and three sawed houses framed. Our crane, our battery cannon, and magazine are finished. This is all that we have been able to do by reason of the smallness of our number, of which many have been sick, and others unused to labour; though, I thank God, they are now pretty well, and we have not lost one since our arrival here."

A few days afterwards Mr. Oglethorpe was visited by three or four gentlemen of Carolina, who had made a canoe voyage from Charlestown to Savannah. One of them subsequently published an account of what he had learned, from which it appears they arrived off the rising town an hour before daybreak on the 16th of March, and when they approached the landing-place were challenged by a sentinel, who, after a parley,

allowed them to come on shore. The writer, in addition to details which it is unnecessary to repeat, says :—

" Mr. Oglethorpe is indefatigable, and takes a vast deal of pains. His fare is but indifferent, having little else at present but salt provisions. He is extremely well beloved by all the people. The title they give him is *Father*. If any of them are sick he immediately visits them, and takes great care of them. If any difference arises he is the person who decides it. Two happened while I was here, and in my presence; and all the parties went away to outward appearance satisfied and contented with the determination. He keeps a strict discipline; I neither saw one of his people drunk nor heard one swear all the time I have been here. He does not allow them rum, but in lieu gives them English beer. It is surprising to see how cheerfully the men go to work, considering they have not been bred to it. There are no idlers here; even the boys and girls do their part. There are four houses already up, but none finished; and he hopes when he has got more sawyers to finish two houses a week. He has ploughed up some land, part of which is sowed with wheat, which is come up and looks promising. He has two or three gardens, which he has sowed with divers sorts of seeds, and planted thyme, with other pot herbs, and several sorts of fruit-trees. He was palisading the town round, including some part of the Common. In short, he has done a vast deal of work for the time, and I think his name deserves to be immortalized.

"Mr. Oglethorpe has with him Sir Walter Raleigh's written Journal, and by the latitude of the place, the marks and tradition of the Indians, it is the very spot where he first went ashore and talked with the Indians, and was the first Englishman that ever they saw.* About half a mile from Savannah is a high mount of earth under which lies their chief king, and the Indians informed Mr. Oglethorpe that the king desired before he died that he might be buried on the spot where he talked with that great good man.† . . . The river abounds with sturgeon, trout, and several other kinds of fish; and in the winter season there are varieties of wildfowl, especially turkeys, some of them weighing thirty pounds, and abundance of deer. The Indians who are thereabouts are very fond of Mr. Oglethorpe, and assist him what they can; and he, on the other side, is very civil and kind to them."‡

* Mr. Spalding, a native of Georgia, discredits the above report, because Dr. Hewatt (in his 'History of South Carolina') speaks doubtingly about it, and the story bears internal evidence of being idle rumour. Quadrants, he says, were not then used, and latitude was as inaccurately defined as longitude. To which he adds:—"Sir Walter Raleigh, in his roving course, would scarcely venture into any of our barred inlets, which to strangers look alarming, though a great protection to navigation after being known. And the Muscogalees, or Creeks, did not occupy the banks of the river Savannah in Raleigh's time."—'Collections of Georgia Historical Society,' vol. i.

† This mound, which was enclosed in the Public Garden, according to Spalding is similar to those found in hundreds of other places along the coast, which are known to have existed long before the present tribes. Though composed of different materials, they resemble the barrows that spread over the Steppes of Tartary.

‡ "Account of a Voyage from Charlestown to Savannah," dated March 22nd, 1733. Reprinted from 'The South Carolina Gazette' in 'The Political State of Great Britain.' [Vol. xlv. pp. 543–5.]

Mr. Bull, who had been sent by the Governor of South Carolina to assist in laying out the town, brought with him four negro sawyers; and other Carolina settlers sent labourers who were accustomed to such work. Thus assisted, the young colonists felled a vast number of trees. Oglethorpe, however, ordered a few of the finest to be spared, and under a group of four beautiful pines left upon the plain he himself encamped; for he would not so much as take possession of one of the huts, but for nearly a year lived under no better shelter than a canvas tent, and afterwards was content with a hired lodging in the house of one of his people. Knowing that man cannot live by bread alone, he made provision even for future luxuries, and laid out a public garden which he designed as a nursery to supply the colonists with white mulberry trees, vines, oranges, olives, and other fruits for their several plantations, and appointed a gardener to take care of it.

In the meantime he assiduously superintended the workmen who were busily occupied clearing the land, sawing timber, building houses, forming enclosures for yards and gardens, erecting a guard-house, constructing fortifications, and effecting other means of accommodation and defence. Each man had his proper station, and the employment for which he was best fitted was assigned him; while the women were set to cook, wash, and mind the children. Nor did their watchful chief fail to note any irregularity and to reason with the delinquents whenever his keen eye detected the least symptom of idleness or unthrift. But as he

ruled by love and reason and not by force, there were few amongst them, however low their degree, whom a gentle reprimand from one they revered could not recall to a sense of duty. Having put the affairs of the colony in this train, Oglethorpe repaired to Charlestown, and presenting himself on the 9th of June before the Governor and General Assembly of South Carolina, delivered a formal address. After warmly thanking them for the assistance they had rendered the new colony, he continues :—

"Your charitable and generous proceeding, besides the self-satisfaction which always attends such actions, will be the greatest advantage to this province. You, gentlemen, are the best judges of this; since most of you have been personal witnesses of the dangerous blows this country has escaped from French, Spanish, and Indian arms. You know there was a time when every day brought fresh advices of murders, ravages, and burnings; when no profession or calling was exempted from arms; when the inhabitants of the province were obliged to leave their wives, their families, their usual occupations, and undergo all the fatigues of war, for the necessary defence of the country; and all their endeavours scarcely sufficient to defend the western and southern frontiers against the Indians. It would be needless for me to tell you, who are much better judges, how the increasing settlements of the new colony upon the southern frontiers will prevent the like danger for the future. Nor need I tell you how much every plantation will increase in value, by the safety of the province being increased; since the

lands to the southward already sell for above double what they did when the new colonists first arrived. Nor need I mention the great lessening of the burthens of the people, by increasing the income of the tax from the many hundred thousand acres of land either taken or taking up on the prospect of future security."

Next day Oglethorpe took leave of his friends in Charlestown, and on his arrival at Savannah was much pleased to find the representatives of the Lower Creeks awaiting his return. These and other natives of the district were generally tall, well-made men, and great hunters. They believed in the existence of a Supreme Being, whom they called Sotolycaté (He who sitteth above), and from whom all things, especially wisdom, proceeded. They neither worshiped idols, nor used any outward religious exercises; but held annual festivals, at which they sang the praises of their ancient heroes. Though unwilling to satisfy idle curiosity, particularly concerning their creed, towards all who treated them with kindness and showed a real interest in their welfare they were frank and friendly. When injured they calmly demanded satisfaction three several times, and if it were denied they sought redress by retaliation. All nations, they said, descended from two brothers—one white, the other red. The first was the ancestor of the Europeans, and the second of the Indians. Besides other virtues, they entertained great respect for old age; and, accounting themselves ignorant and uncivilized, they earnestly desired to be better instructed.

The Lower Creeks comprised eight tribes, all speak-

ing the same dialect, and united in a political confederacy, but each tribe had a separate jurisdiction. The present deputation, about fifty in number, consisted of their chiefs and leading warriors. Musgrove, the Carolinian trader, before mentioned, who acted as interpreter, having explained that the object of their visit was to treat upon an alliance with the infant colony, Mr. Oglethorpe received them with his wonted courtesy, and invited them into one of the new houses to have a "talk." He then informed them that the English, in coming to settle there, neither intended to dispossess nor thought of annoying the natives; but, on the contrary, desired above all things to live in friendship with them, and hoped, through those whom he addressed, to obtain from them a concession of a portion of their territory, and confirm a treaty of amity and commerce.

Ouechachumpa, a warrior of great stature, replied, and stated the extent of the region claimed by their tribes. "We acknowledge," he continued, "the superiority of the white men to the red; we are persuaded that the Great Spirit who dwells above and around all (whose immensity he endeavoured to express by waving his arms and prolonging his articulation), has sent the English hither for our good; and, therefore, they are welcome to all the land we do not need." He then laid before Oglethorpe eight buckskins,—one from each tribe,—the best things, he said, they had to bestow; and thanked him for his kindness to Tomo Chichi, who, it appears, had been banished by his own people, but on account of his wisdom and valour was

chosen Mico, or chief, of the Yamacraws, an emigrating branch of the same stock.

The declarations of their spokesman were confirmed by the others, when Tomo Chichi, attended by some of his friends, entered, and making a low obeisance, said: —"When these white men came, I feared that they would drive us away, for we were weak; but they promised not to molest us. We wanted corn and other things, and they have given us supplies; and now, of our small means, we make them presents in return. Here is a buffalo skin, adorned with the head and feathers of an eagle. The eagle signifies speed, and the buffalo strength. The English are swift as the eagle, and strong as the buffalo. Like the eagle they flew hither over great waters, and, like the buffalo, nothing can withstand them. But the feathers of the eagle are soft, and signify kindness; and the skin of the buffalo is covering, and signifies protection. Let these, then, remind them to be kind, and protect us."

The terms of alliance were speedily agreed upon. The treaty contained stipulations on the part of the English concerning traffic, reparation for injuries, etc.; and the aborigines, on their part, formally and freely ceded to the Trustees of the colony all the territory southward of the Savannah as far as the river Ogechee, with the lands along the sea-coast from Savannah to the river Alatamaha, extending westwards as high as the tide flowed, and including all the islands except a few which the Indians reserved for the purposes of hunting, fishing, and bathing, besides a tract upon the margin of the river which they retained for their encamp-

ment whenever they should come to visit their friends in that neighbourhood.* Mr. Oglethorpe then presented each chief with a laced coat and hat, together with a shirt; to each war captain he gave a gun, with ammunition, and to the "beloved-men" mantles of coarse cloth, distributing smaller presents amongst their attendants. Whereupon the Creeks took their leave of him, and departed highly gratified with the result of their interview.

Oglethorpe took much pains to become acquainted with the manners and customs of the Indians, in whose language he acquired some proficiency, and furnished a very interesting account of them to an intelligent traveller by whom he was visited, who appended it to his volume of 'Travels.'† He purposed making a tour through the British American provinces, and Mr. Belcher, Governor of Massachusetts, having heard of his intention, wrote him a letter congratulating him on his success, and inviting him to Boston. But Oglethorpe, finding that the young colony still demanded all his attention as well as his presence, was obliged to deny himself this and many other personal gratifications.

On the 18th of June he proceeded to the Horse-quarter, occupied by an Independent Company of South Carolina, and was there joined by Captain

* This treaty was confirmed by the Trustees on the 18th of October.

† 'A New Voyage to Georgia, by a Young Gentleman; giving an account of his Travels in South Carolina. To which is added a curious Account of the Indians, by an Honourable Person.' 2nd ed. London: 1737.

M'Pherson, who, with a detachment of Rangers, accompanied him on an excursion into the interior. After journeying forty miles westwards, he selected a post commanding the passes by which the Indians during the late wars used to invade Carolina. Here, upon a height overlooking the country for a considerable distance around, he marked out the site of a fort which was shortly afterwards built, and, in honour of his early patron John Duke of Argyle, named 'Fort Argyle.' His object was to secure Georgia from invasion by the Spaniards of Florida. Captain M'Pherson and his troop were subsequently quartered there, and ten families from Savannah were removed thither to cultivate the immediate vicinity.

At daybreak on the 7th of July, the inhabitants of Savannah were called together by their Governor. They assembled on the strand, and after a devotional service proceeded to designate the wards of the town, and assign the lots. Each ward consisted of four tithings of ten houses, and a house lot was appropriated to each freeholder. Although the first settlers were but 120 in number, Oglethorpe thought of those who were to come after them, and their descendants. Acting on the motto of the Trustees, "Not for themselves, but for others," his imagination depicted a populous city, with a large square for markets and other public purposes in every quarter; wide and regular streets crossing each other at right angles and shaded by rows of noble trees. The forty rough wooden houses, the best of which now served as a place of public worship and as a school for the children, would give way

to durable and stately abodes; and above the foliage would arise the towers and spires of numerous churches. So his first plan of Savannah was in accordance with his prevision of the future; and, even in his own lifetime, his expectations were in a great degree realized, but not so completely as afterwards.

After the ceremony all the colonists partook of a substantial dinner which their Governor had provided for them; and, besides fresh beef, turkeys, venison, and whatever vegetables the public garden already yielded, he supplied each person with a liberal quantum of the best English beer. Hitherto Mr. Oglethorpe had retained to himself undivided authority over his people, but finding from their increasing numbers that the task of disposing the new settlers to the reciprocal offices of a social state and of keeping the troublesome in subordination was more than he could longer individually accomplish, he now determined to delegate to others a portion of the powers with which he was invested. Accordingly, by virtue of his commission, in the afternoon of the day on which the wards were named, he opened a court of judicature, and nominated a Recorder and other magistrates. A session was then held, a jury impannelled, and a case tried.

Oglethorpe, as may easily be imagined, had little time for familiar correspondence; and, on the 19th of September, he apologizes to Sir Hans Sloane for not having sent him a full account of the country, nor yet made a collection of such things as might be agreeable to a gentleman of his curiosity. To which he adds, by way of postscript:—"The bearer will deliver you a piece

of a tree, the bark of which is a specific against all kinds of defluxions. It was discovered to me by the Indians, who call it Hookasippi, and by chewing it they raise a kind of flux."*

On the 23rd of January, 1734, Mr. Oglethorpe, accompanied by Captain Ferguson, and sixteen attendants, including two Indians, set out in a row-boat, followed by a yawl laden with provisions and ammunition, upon an exploratory expedition to the southern frontiers of Georgia. Their course lay through the Island Passages—straits which intersect the marshy margin of the coast, and afford inland navigation for vessels of 100 tons. Having passed the entrances of the rivers Vernon and Ogechee, and the northern branches of the Alatamaha, they landed; and, though it rained very hard during the night, lay dry under the shelter of a large evergreen oak. On the 27th they proceeded to the sea point of St. Simon's, in order to make an observation of the latitude, and afterwards discovered an island which Oglethorpe, in honour of his friend Sir Joseph Jekyll, named Jekyll Island.† They reconnoitred various other places, also the embouchures of several rivers; and, on their return ascended the Ogechee to Fort Argyle, where they lay in a house and upon beds for the first time since they had left Thunderbolt.‡ Through the diligence of Captain

* Sloane MSS., British Museum.

† Sir Joseph Jekyll, an able lawyer and conscientious stateman, was Master of the Rolls in the reign of George I., by whom he was knighted. He died in 1738, aged seventy-five.

‡ A little defensive settlement near the mouth of the Savannah, so called from an explosion, the effects of which were said to be perceptible in the sulphurous taste and smell of a water-spring.

M'Pherson, Fort Argyle was now finished, and very defensible, being well flanked, and mounted with several guns. By this excursion the Governor of the new colony ascertained that, for its defence, it would be expedient to form a military station and a settlement near the mouth of the Alatamaha, as well as to erect a strong fort for an outpost on St. Simon's, and upon a high bluff at the western side of this island Frederica was afterwards built. Meanwhile several new immigrants arrived from time to time at Savannah, some of whom increased the population of that town, while others formed little settlements in its vicinity.

In England great indignation had been expressed at the persecution of the Protestants of Salzburg, who, by an episcopal edict, were, in the midst of winter, banished from their homes. Oglethorpe, who shared in the general sympathy, and, as we have seen, had publicly stated his regret that no provision was made for the relief of these sufferers in the Treaty of Vienna, afterwards proposed to his fellow-Trustees that an asylum in Georgia should be offered to some of them. His suggestion met with ready acquiescence, and a letter inquiring whether, if measures were taken for their transportation, a body of them would join the new English settlers, was addressed to their Elder, the Venerable Samuel Urlsperger, who returned a favourable answer. Accordingly a vessel was sent to convey them from Rotterdam to Dover, whence they sailed for America in January, 1734, under the care of Mr. Commissary Von Reck and their pastors, John M. Bolzius and Israel C. Gronau.

After many difficulties and dangers they arrived, on the 7th of March, at Charlestown, where Mr. Oglethorpe, providentially, as they piously considered, then happened to be. He gave them a hearty welcome; supplied them with fresh provisions, especially abundance of vegetables from the gardens of Savannah, and introduced the Commissary and the Ministers to the Governor of South Carolina, who received them with much kindness. Oglethorpe then sent one of his men to pilot their ship, and dispatched a messenger to Savannah to announce the arrival of the strangers, and direct the magistrates to prepare for their reception. On the 9th they sailed for the haven where they would be, and entered the river next day, which was their *Reminiscere*-Sunday, when they called to remembrance the former days, in which they endured a great fight of afflictions. Their ship struck upon a sandbank, where she was detained for a few hours, but was floated off by the next tide. As she sailed up the river, her passengers found it in some places broader than the Rhine; and, while they were delighted with the verdure of the banks, and wondered at the vastness of the primeval woods, which resounded with the music of birds singing the praises of their Creator, they were refreshed by the balmy odour of the pines wafted on the land breeze.

As the ship approached Savannah the inhabitants flocked down to the shore, and raised a welcoming shout, to which those upon the crowded deck as loudly responded. The leaders were taken off in boats, and conducted round the town and through the Trustees'

garden. Meanwhile "a right good feast" was prepared for all, one item of which was "very fine, wholesome English beer." The exiles were highly gratified by the hospitality and friendliness of their reception. The Commissary and the pastors were lodged in the house of the Rev. Samuel Quincey :* while temporary huts and tents afforded shelter to the rest until the return of Mr. Oglethorpe from Charlestown. He had gone thither in order to take his passage for England; "but from love to us Salzburgers," says Von Reck, "he put off his voyage, being resolved to see us settled before he went."†

He gave them liberty to choose a locality in whatever part of the province they might prefer, and he proposed to go himself with their leaders to select a spot to their liking. They desired an inland situation on gently rising ground, with intervening vales, near springs of water, and upon the bank of a small river; for such was the nature of the country from which they had been banished. Oglethorpe, on his return to Savannah, having shown Von Reck a plan of Georgia, they set out with a few more gentlemen to explore a district which seemed to answer the description. They went in a ten-oared boat as far as Musgrove's cowpens—six miles up the river, where they took horse; and, after riding about fifteen miles through the woods,

* Mr. Quincey was a native of Massachusetts, but was educated in England. He had been sent to Georgia by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as a Church of England Missionary.

† 'An Extract from the Journal of Mr. Commissary Von Reck (London, 1734), p. 15.

reached the margin of a fine stream with high banks, and eighty feet wide.* The country proved hilly, with valleys watered by clear brooks, the soil fertile, and there was plenty of grass. The Salzburgers being well pleased, marked out a site for their settlement. They then knelt down by the river-side, and devoutly thanked God for having carried them safely through great dangers into a land of rest; and in memorial thereof they called the place EBENEZER.

Oglethorpe, having thus assigned a local habitation to the outcasts, the whole of the party visited Abercorn, a newly-built village about six miles distant. Von Reck and his countrymen then returned to Savannah, while Mr. Oglethorpe, accompanied by Mr. Paul Jenys, Speaker of the South Carolina House of Assembly, went to Purrysburgh,† with the intention of rowing up the river to visit the Palachicolas Indians; but the floods from the Cherokee Mountains having so swollen the freshes as to render that route too tedious, they went back to Abercorn, and thence to Ebenezer, where Oglethorpe, parting from his friend, crossed the stream, and pursued his way to Palachicolas. He there found a fort erected at the lowest passage of the

* "If you ask," says Von Reck, "how a country that is covered with wood, and cut with rivers is passable, I must acquaint you that since the colony was settled, the ways were marked by barking the trees, to show where the roads should go, and where the rivers were fordable."—'Journal,' p. 16.

† A town on the northern bank of the Savannah, founded by Captain Purry, a Swiss gentleman, who wrote (in French) an Account of South Carolina, which was printed at Neufchâtel in the year 1730. He afterwards emigrated with 600 of his countrymen, and settled in the place called after him.

Savannah, forty-five miles above the town. Returning through Ebenezer, he saw eight able-bodied Salzburgers with their pastor Gronau constructing booths for the reception of their families; and, having shown them how to lay out their town, he directed his own carpenters, who in obedience to his orders had arrived before him, to assist in building the houses.

The services rendered by Oglethorpe to the refugees are most gratefully acknowledged in the Journal of Bolzius, who speaks of him as a man having great reverence for God and His holy word and ordinances; a cordial love for the servants and children of God; and who desired to see the name of Christ glorified in all places. "So blest have been his undertakings and his presence in this land," adds the same journalist, "that more has been accomplished by him in one year than others would have effected in many. For us he hath cared with a most provident solicitude. We unite in prayers for him, that God may guide him to his home, make his voyage safe and prosperous, and enrich him with many blessings." To this unstudied tribute of the exile may be appended the poet's glowing lines:—

> "Lo! swarming southward, on rejoicing suns,
> Gay colonies extend; the calm retreat
> Of undeserved distress, the better home
> Of those whom Bigots chase from foreign lands.
> Not built on Rapine, Servitude, and Woe,
> And in their turn some petty tyrant's prey;
> But, bound by social Freedom, firm they rise;
> Such as of late an OGLETHORPE has formed,
> And, crowding round, the charmed Savannah sees."*

* Thomson's 'Liberty,' Part v. 638–646. See Appendix II.

On the 22nd, Oglethorpe returned to Savannah, where everything was prepared for his departure; but some complaints that were brought before him, and a multiplicity of other business, detained him until the next day. He committed the charge of the colony to Mr. Thomas Causton, the Trustees' Storekeeper, to whom he gave the title of Bailiff; and, after fifteen months spent in journeying often and in labours more abundant, he bade adieu to his people, who attended him to his boat. They were all so concerned that, as we are told by an eyewitness, "they could not restrain their tears when they saw him go, who was their benefactor and their father; who had carefully watched over them as a good shepherd does over his flock, and who had so tender a care of them both by day and night."* He was accompanied by the venerable Mico, Tomo Chichi with his wife and nephew, and Hillispilli, the war-captain of the same tribe; five chiefs of the Creeks; and Umpichi, a chief from Palachicolas. These, with their interpreter and attendants, he had induced to visit England; for he considered it would be advantageous to the interests of the Province that some of the principal natives should see so much of Great Britain and her institutions as might enable them to judge of her power and dignity. They all reached Charlestown on the 27th of March, and, on the 7th of April, embarked in his Majesty's ship 'Aldborough.'

* Von Reck, Extract from 'Journal,' p. 18.

CHAPTER VI.

APRIL, 1734—FEBRUARY, 1736.

An opportunity presents itself while Oglethorpe is at sea, to relate the story of a slave about whom he was much interested, and whose fate was happily influenced by his benevolent zeal. In January, 1731, Mr. Oglethorpe had been chosen a Director, and twelve months later was appointed Deputy-Governor of the Royal African Company, of which the King was Governor. Through this honourable position he became acquainted with the following incidents. A negro called Job was bought on the coast of Africa by Captain Pyke, the master of a vessel owned by a London merchant named Hunt, and carried to Annapolis in Maryland, where he was delivered to Michael Denton, the factor of Hunt, who sold him to Mr. Tolsey, a planter. Job was at first employed in the cultivation of tobacco; but the master perceiving that the slave could not bear the fatigue of such laborious work, gave him the charge of his cattle. Job, who

while thus engaged was in the habit of retiring at stated times into the recesses of the woods to pray, was noticed by a white boy who amused himself by pelting and otherwise tormenting the pious negro. Being unable to make known the annoyance to which he was subjected, and despairing of redress, he determined to make his escape.

He made his way through the forests to the borders of Delaware Bay, where, having no pass, he was seized as a fugitive slave and put into prison. Here, owing to his dignified demeanour, which showed him to be no ordinary person, he attracted unusual notice. It was observed that at certain periods of the day he prostrated himself, and repeated ejaculations with great earnestness and solemnity. Amongst those persons whose curiosity drew them to the gaol, was Mr. Thomas Bluet, an English trader. This gentleman, through an old negro—who being a Foulah understood the language of Job—was at length enabled to gain some information respecting his former condition. Tolsey, however, having been apprised of his slave's capture, came to claim him; but, in consideration of what he had heard, not only forbore punishment, but treated him with much indulgence.

Having ascertained that Job had some leaves inscribed with strange characters, Tolsey furnished him with writing materials and signified his wish that he should use them. Job availed himself of this kindness, by writing to his father. The letter was committed to the factor Denton, to be carried by his captain to Africa; but Pyke having already sailed, it

was enclosed to Mr. Hunt at London, where it was laid before the Deputy-Governor of the Royal African Company, and thus it fell into the hands of Mr. Oglethorpe; who, seeing that it was written in Arabic, sent it to the University of Oxford for translation. The information by these means imparted of the disastrous lot of the writer so excited our philanthropist's compassion that, binding himself to refund all expenses, he engaged Mr. Hunt to have Job redeemed and brought to England.

The liberated slave was sent over in the care of Mr. Bluet, who accompanied him to London, where they arrived in April, 1733. As Oglethorpe was then in Georgia, Bluet took the African home to his own house at Cheshunt, where Job recommended himself by his courteous and manly behaviour, and applied himself so diligently to acquire the English language, that he was soon able to speak and write it correctly. His knowledge of Arabic, at the same time, rendered him serviceable to Sir Hans Sloane, who employed him in translating MSS. and inscriptions. Meanwhile Oglethorpe, having been informed of his *protégé*'s release and arrival in England, wrote to the directors of the African Company to provide for his accommodation until he should himself return.

It had been discovered that Job was the son of Solomon, High Priest of Bunda. When he had attained the age of fifteen, he assisted his father as Iman or inferior priest, and soon afterwards married, leaving, at the time of his capture, four children by his two wives. In February, 1730, Solomon having

learned that an English ship had arrived in the Gambia, sent his son, attended by two servants, to procure some European commodities. When Job had transacted this business, he ordered his attendants to return home, and sent his father word that curiosity impelled him to further travel. He had crossed the Gambia, when the heat compelled him to seek the shade of a forest, where, hanging his arms upon a tree, he lay down to rest. "The evil destiny willed" that a band of Mandingoes, should pass that way. These savages finding him unarmed, seized him and sold him to Pyke, who, as before related, conveyed him to America.

Job had been a year in England before the return of Oglethorpe, who immediately made arrangements for his restoration to his native land. In the meantime Sir Hans Sloane, to bring him into notice, had him dressed, according to his rank, in his national costume; and presented him to the King, who received him graciously and gave him a valuable gold watch. The Duke of Montague took him to his country seat and had him instructed in the use of agricultural implements; several other noblemen procured for him various articles of husbandry, which were sent aboard the vessel that was to convey him to Africa; and he returned home loaded with presents to the amount of £500. During his stay in England his friend Bluet gathered from him the history of his life, which he afterwards published, and from which the foregoing particulars have been abridged.*

* 'Memoirs of the Life of Job, the Son of Solomon, High Priest of Bunda, in Africa.' By Thomas Bluet. London, 1734; 8vo.

Job, who is described as a fine figure, nearly six feet high, and of a pleasing though grave countenance, having taken leave of Oglethorpe and his other benefactors, sailed in July, 1734, on board one of the Royal African Company's ships bound for the river Gambia; and was committed to the care of Mr. Francis Moore, who was employed in the factory of the company at Joar. Moore relates some interesting anecdotes of his companion after he had reached his own country, and on returning home was charged by Job with letters to Oglethorpe and others of his late patrons.*

The 'Aldborough' arrived at St. Helen's, Isle of Wight, on the 16th of June, bringing the founder of the new colony and his Indian companions. Oglethorpe immediately wrote to Sir John Phillips, Bart., announcing his return and informing him of the welfare of the Salzburgers, whom he called "a very sensible, active, laborious, and pious people," adding:—

"I shall leave the Indians at my estate till I go to the City, where I shall have the happiness to wait upon you, and to relate all things to you more fully; over which you will rejoice and wonder."

Oglethorpe, having repaired to his house in Old Palace Yard, on the 19th waited upon their Majesties at St. James's. On the evening of the 21st the Trustees gave a grand entertainment in honour of their distinguished associate; and on the following day, in a

* 'Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa, &c., with a particular Account of Job Ben Solomon, a Pholey [Foulah], who was in England in 1733, and known by the name of The African Prince.' By Francis Moore. London, 1738.

special meeting at the Georgia Office, they voted him their unanimous thanks for the ability, zeal, activity, and perseverance with which he had conducted the affairs of the settlement. His return was likewise celebrated by his several poems in the 'Gentleman's' and other magazines of the time; and Mr. Urban offered a prize for the best design of a medal to commemorate the peaceful hero's benevolence and patriotism.*

Comfortable quarters were provided for the Indians at the Georgia Office. When they were suitably attired, and had painted their faces after their fashion, Sir Clement Cotterell, Master of the Ceremonies, conveyed them in three of the royal coaches, to Kensington Palace, where they were received by the body guards, and presented by the Lord Chamberlain to his Majesty, whom the Mico thus addressed:—"Great King, this day I behold the majesty of your person, the greatness of your house, and the number of your people. I am come in my old days, so I cannot expect to obtain any advantage to myself, but I come for the good of the Creeks, that they may be informed about the English, and be instructed in your language and religion. I present to you in their name the feathers of an eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and flieth around our nations. These feathers are an emblem of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town, to witness it. We have brought them to you

* A medal was subsequently cast; and after a few specimens were struck off, the die was destroyed.—See 'Gentleman's Magazine,' 1785, pt. ii. p. 517.

to be a token and pledge of peace on our part, to be kept on yours. O great King! whatever you shall say to me I will faithfully tell to all the chiefs of the Creek nations." King George, in reply, said he was extremely glad of the opportunity to assure the Mico of his regard for the people from whom he had come; that he gratefully accepted the present as an indication of their good disposition towards himself and his subjects; and that he would always be ready to promote the Creeks' welfare. The Indians were then presented to Queen Caroline, who was seated upon a throne in the great gallery, attended by the ladies of her Court. Tomo Chichi declared how happy it made him to see the Mother of this great nation, and hoped that her Majesty might be also a mother to the red men and their children. The Queen having returned a gracious answer, the chiefs were introduced to the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cumberland, and the Princesses; when they withdrew, and were conducted back to their lodgings.

They soon afterwards experienced a great affliction in the loss of one of their companions, who, notwithstanding the best medical attention, died of the small-pox, and was interred in the churchyard of St. John's, Westminster. When the body, which according to their custom was sewn up in a blanket and bound between two boards, was placed in the earth, the clothes of the deceased with a quantity of glass beads and some pieces of silver, were thrown in and buried with him. As every effort to console the mourners was unavailing, Oglethorpe took them to his country seat

that in the retirement of Westbrook they might bewail their dead after their own fashion, and that the change of scene might tend to abate their sorrow.

Their next visit was to Lambeth Palace, where they were agreeably entertained by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Tomo Chichi endeavoured to inform his Grace how deeply he and his people felt their ignorance of religion, and how much they not only needed but desired to be instructed; and on taking leave regretted his inability to express properly the acknowledgments of himself and his companions of the kind notice taken of them. The following day they went to Eton College, where they were received by the Fellows; and the Mico, on leaving the school-room, begged a holiday for the boys, who manifested their pleasure by hearty English cheers. Thence they proceeded to Windsor, and were shown through the Castle and St. George's Chapel; whence they went to Hampton Court, and having inspected the state apartments, walked in the gardens amidst a vast concourse of people who had flocked thither to see them. They were also shown the Tower, Greenwich Hospital, and in short, all the great sights of London and its vicinity. Nothing was neglected that was likely to awake their curiosity or impress them with a sense of the power and grandeur of the nation.

When they had been in England four months, they were taken in the royal carriages to Gravesend, and embarked for Georgia, where, after an unusually quick voyage they arrived on the 27th of December. Captain Dunbar, the master of the ship in which they

sailed, wrote to the Trustees, from Savannah, saying that the Indians, and some more Salzburgers who were their fellow-passengers, were all well and cheerful, and while at sea had behaved with "their accustomed modesty." Reporting the progress of the colony, he says that at Thunderbolt the settlers had cleared and fenced so much land that they could not fail, out of their ensuing crop, to have a considerable quantity of provisions for sale; they had also made great advance in the manufacture of potash; and had already freighted a sloop with pipe-staves for Madeira. At Skidoway, another defensive settlement near the entrance of the river, they had built several houses; their battery was in good order; and no boat could pass by night or day without being obliged to bring to. "I shall load here," adds the Captain, "and am in contract for 800 barrels of rice, pitch, or tar, on freight for London; and I hope to complete my lading with the products of Georgia."*

Oglethorpe made the visit of the Indians subserve his favourite purpose of exciting attention to the advancement of the race in secular and religious knowledge. In their earliest interviews with him, as we have seen, they had expressed their desire for instruction. Until then they had known no higher type of the white man than rude Carolinian traders, their intercourse with whom was nevertheless enough to make them sensible of the inferiority of their own attainments, in at least worldly knowledge. His wish to obtain for them the religious advantages they desired, prompted him not

* 'Political State of Great Britain,' vol. xlix. p. 376.

only to urge the Trustees to employ missionaries for their benefit, but to induce his friend Dr. Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man, to prepare a simple manual which he hoped to have translated into their language. The good Bishop eventually complied with his request, and the work, which was dedicated to the Trustees, was printed at the expense of the Society for Propagating the Gospel. In the preface the author states that his little book was undertaken in consequence of a conversation which he and some others had with the "honourable and worthy General Oglethorpe," concerning the condition, temper, and genius of the Indians in the neighbourhood of Georgia. "And, indeed," he adds, "that most worthy gentleman's great and generous concern for both the present and future interests of these natives, and his earnest endeavours to civilize them first, and make them capable of instruction in the ways of religion and civil government, and his hearty wishes that something might be done to forward such good purposes, prevailed with the author, however indifferently qualified for such a work, to set about the following essay."* The volume, however, was not published until five or six years after the period at which we have now arrived; and we shall have occasion to revert to the subject.

Amongst those personal friends who most heartily welcomed Oglethorpe on his return to England was the

* 'The Knowledge and Practice of Christianity Made Easy to the Meanest Capacity; or Essay towards an Instruction for the Indians.' London, 1740, 12mo. The tenth edition was published in 1764, and a French translation was printed at Geneva in 1744.

Reverend Samuel Wesley. "Honoured Sir," wrote the Rector of Epworth, on the 6th of July, 1734, "May I be admitted, while such crowds of our nobility and gentry are pouring in their congratulations, to press my poor mite of thanks into the presence of one who so well deserves the title of 'Universal Benefactor of Mankind'? It is not only your valuable favours on many accounts to my son [Samuel], late of Westminster, and myself when I was a little pressed in the world, nor your extreme charity to the poor prisoners; it is not these only that so much demand my warmest acknowledgments, as your disinterested and unmoveable attachment to your country, and your raising a new colony, or rather a little world of your own in the midst of a wild wood and uncultivated desert, where men may live free and happy, if they are not hindered by their own stupidity and folly, in spite of the unkindness of their brother mortals." The grateful old clergyman then notices some domestic matters, speaks of his sons, who were then at Oxford and Tiverton, and informs his correspondent of the progress of his 'Dissertations on the Book of Job.'*

The Trustees, in consequence of Oglethorpe's representations, were anxious to engage eligible men to go out to Georgia in order to convert the Indians, and to officiate as ministers at Savannah and a new town about to be built on the Island of St. Simon's. Oglethorpe, as we have seen, was acquainted with the Wesley

* From the List of Subscribers to the above-mentioned work, it appears that Oglethorpe took seven large-paper copies, for which he paid one-and-twenty guineas.

family, but he had not sufficient knowledge of either John or Charles to judge of their fitness for the required duties. John Wesley, now in his thirty-second year, was a Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Charles, aged twenty-six, a student of Christ Church. They had attained notoriety at the University by the strictness of their conduct; and, as they and their select associates lived according to certain rules of their own, were called 'Methodists.' Charles Wesley was completely led by his elder brother; and John's notions were so peculiar that his pious and learned father, when within a few months of the grave, confessed—"I sat myself down to try if I could unravel his sophisms, and hardly one of his assertions appeared to me to be universally true."* However, the Rev. Doctor Burton, a Member of the Board, who knew John Wesley well, considered that from his abstemiousness and readiness to endure hardship he was well suited for the office of a missionary; and in August, 1735, learning that he was in London, brought him to Mr. Oglethorpe's house, that they might talk the matter over. Wesley at first hesitated, but many of his friends advised him to accept the offer, and as even his widowed mother encouraged him to it, he at length consented.† It was eventually determined that his brother Charles should accompany him, also Benjamin

* From a letter written by the Rev. S. Wesley, on the 4th of December, 1734, to his eldest son (Samuel), printed in 'The Life and Times of the Rev. Samuel Wesley,' by L. Tyerman. London, 1866, p. 439.

† 'Life of the Rev. John Wesley, and of the Rev. Charles Wesley, his brother, by the Rev. Henry Moore,' vol. i. p. 234.

Ingham, one of the Oxford association, and Charles Delamotte, the son of a London merchant.

During the Parliamentary Session Oglethorpe did not neglect his general duties as a member of the House of Commons. Besides other questions on which he spoke, he supported a Ministerial motion that 30,000 men, being an increase of 10,000, should be employed in the sea service for the ensuing year. But he directed his attention more particularly towards obtaining certain enactments for the benefit of the new province. The first of these was a Bill to prohibit the importation and sale of rum, brandy, and other distilled liquors. It appears that in spite of his previous endeavours, the Carolinian traders supplied not only the Indians but the colonists with smuggled spirits, which had produced disease amongst the former and disorderly conduct on the part of some of the latter. But though he discountenanced intemperance he did not discourage the moderate use of English beer, with which the Trustees' stores were regularly supplied, as well as with wines from Madeira, and molasses for home brewing. The magistrates of Savannah also were empowered to grant licences for retailing beer. The above Act of Parliament with another to prevent the introduction of slavery into the colony were laid before the King in Council, and ratified in the month of January, 1735. The latter statute was entitled 'An Act for rendering the Province of Georgia more defensible, by prohibiting the importation of black slaves or negroes into the same.' Into the body of the Bill many other reasons were given for the interdiction, one of

them being, because the Trustees were desirous that the settlers should acquire habits of labour, industry, economy, and thrift, by personal application.

Burke subsequently remarked that these regulations, though well intended and meant to bring about very excellent purposes, were yet made without sufficiently consulting the nature of the country or the disposition of the people which they regarded.* But Mr. Belcher, Governor of Massachusetts, who had more local knowledge, in a letter to Lord Egmont, observes, "I have read Mr. Oglethorpe's 'State of the new Colony of Georgia' once and again; and by its harbours, rivers, soil, and productions, do not doubt that it must in time make a fine addition to the British Empire in America; and I still insist upon it that the prohibitory regulations of the Trustees are essential to its healthy and prosperous condition."†

Whilst Oglethorpe remained in England, notwithstanding a few discouraging reports, much cheering intelligence came from the colony. In September, 1734, the Trustees learned that Savannah was in a prosperous condition, and that the people had already reaped a crop of Indian corn, which produced upwards of 1000 bushels.‡ The Trustees also received a curious missive from the aborigines, expressing their sense of the greatness of the British nation, their thanks for the attentions shown to Tomo Chichi and his

* 'European Settlements in America' (Lon. 1757), vol. ii. p. 258.

† Cited by Harris, from Letter Book, in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. v. p. 254.

‡ 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. iv. p. 510.

companions, and their attachment to Mr. Oglethorpe. This dispatch, which was the production of a Cherokee chief, consisted of the dressed skin of a young buffalo covered with various symbolical figures drawn in black and red. When first delivered at Savannah, it was translated into English from the Indian interpretation, in the presence of fifty of their chiefs and of the principal inhabitants; and the hieroglyphic picture was subsequently framed and hung up in the Georgia Office, Westminster.

Every encouragement was given by the Government and the Board of Trade to the importation of raw silk from Georgia. From time to time samples were received which gave great promise of success; and in May, 1735, the Trustees, accompanied by Sir Thomas Lombe, exhibited a specimen to the Queen, who desired that the fabric into which it should be wrought might be shown to her. Accordingly, in October the same gentleman presented to Her Majesty a piece of the manufactured silk, with which she was so well pleased that she ordered it to be made up into a dress, in which she appeared at court on her birthday.*

As might indeed have been reasonably anticipated, some of the earliest emigrants proved to be as unprofitable members of society in the New World as they had been in the Old. As long as their wants were supplied from the common store, neither gratitude to their providers nor their own ultimate prospects were sufficient incentives to industry and frugality. The Trustees, finding that these drones impeded rather than

* 'Political State of Great Britain,' vol. l. pp. 242 and 469.

promoted the progress of the colony, now saw that it was necessary to look out for a better stock from which to select future settlers. They therefore drew up more stringent rules, and circulated a new statement of conditions in which were indicated the qualifications necessary to those persons whom they desired to engage. They required men accustomed to laborious occupation, and preferred such as had followed agricultural pursuits; men of regular habits and of a hardy race.*

Applicants were informed that they must go through great hardships in the beginning, and exercise much industry afterwards to acquire comfortable subsistence for their families; that, although they should have lands for ever and free provisions for twelve months, those lands would have to be cleared and cultivated before they could reap any harvest, and in the meantime they must live chiefly upon salt meat, and drink little but water. They were told, too, that they must keep constant guard against enemies; that the climate was hot in summer, and dangerous to those who indulged in spirituous liquors; and in short, that temperance was necessary to preserve not only their substance, but their health also. Those who resolved to encounter every obstacle were assured that with sobriety and industry they might, by putting their trust in God, eventually establish themselves and their children upon their own little estates; but all others were warned by no means to undertake the voyage. Several applicants were disheartened; but their places were soon filled by those who considered that the difficulties to be sur-

* 'Account showing the Progress of the colony of Georgia,' London, 1741.

mounted were more than counterbalanced by the aid and encouragement proffered.

In Scotland the Trustees' proposal had been so well received that at Inverness one hundred and thirty Highlanders, with fifty women and children, were enrolled for emigration. These together with several private grantees and their households were transported to Georgia, where they arrived in January, 1736. The Scots were destined to settle on the southern frontier for the protection of the province; and after tarrying a few days at Savannah they proceeded southwards. Ascending the river Alatamaha, about sixteen miles from St. Simon's, they pitched upon a spot for their settlement. Here they put up huts for temporary shelter until they could prepare more commodious dwellings. For the district they adopted the ill-omened name of 'Darien,' which it still bears, and their prospective town they called New Inverness, a name no longer retained.

Oglethorpe was busily engaged for some months in making preparations for what was called the "grand embarkation." He not only gave his directions but his personal attendance, and saw that every arrangement was strictly carried out. The indefatigable leader was ably assisted by Mr. Francis Moore, whom, at his recommendation, the Trustees had appointed keeper of the stores. Oglethorpe had become acquainted with this gentleman as an agent of the Royal African Company; and it was Moore, it will be recollected, who received Job Jalla Ben Solomon on his return to his native country.

Two vessels were chartered by the Trustees, the 'Symond' of 220 tons, and the 'London Merchant' of about the same burden. The Admiralty also placed one of his Majesty's sloops of war, which was to sail from Portsmouth, at Mr. Oglethorpe's disposal; but he chose to go in one of the ships crowded with passengers, that he might be able to take care of his people on the voyage. Besides the English emigrants, who numbered two hundred and twenty, about sixty more Salzburgers and other poor Protestants from Germany, with the Baron Von Reck and Captain Hermsdorf, embarked at the same time at Gravesend. There were also several independent adventurers, amongst whom were Sir Thomas Bathurst and his family, as well as some relations of planters who had already settled in the new province.

On the 14th of October, Mr. Oglethorpe and the Wesleys set out from Westminster for Gravesend, where they were joined by Mr. Johnson, son of the late Governor of South Carolina, and Mr. Charles Dempsey, who, with the approval of the Spanish Ambassador at St. James's, was commissioned by the British Government to arrange the terms of a convention between the Governors of Florida and Georgia. Oglethorpe also, in addition to his servants, took with him three or four young gentlemen whom he wished to advance in the world, and for whose passages he paid out of his private purse. On the 20th they all went on board the 'Symond,' which together with her consort sailed that afternoon and got down to the Hope. They were off Deal on the 27th, but were forced to anchor in the

Downs, where they were detained by bad weather until the 30th, when Oglethorpe insisted that the captains should make sail. Accordingly they ventured out to sea and found the wind more favourable. On the 1st of November they put into St. Helen's, to await their convoy, which was not yet ready; and next day came up to Cowes road, when the Governor went to the sloop of war 'Hawk,' commanded by Captain Gascoigne.

They twice attempted to proceed on their voyage, and had once made considerable way, but contrary winds drove them back to St. Helen's, where they were compelled to remain for six weeks. This delay was not only tedious to the people, but expensive to the Trustees since so many persons were eating in idleness what should have subsisted them till their lands were cultivated; and they were likewise losing the most useful season for that purpose. By this time most of the provisions designed for the voyage were consumed, and it was necessary to purchase more at an excessive price, for the squadron then at Spithead had made everything exceedingly dear. Unluckily also Mr. Johnson was taken ill of a fever which prevented him from pursuing the voyage. This was a great misfortune, for, as Moore observes, if he had gone to Carolina, a man of his influence and good sense at Charlestown, whilst Mr. Oglethorpe was in Georgia, might have prevented the misunderstandings which afterwards arose.*

At length, on the 10th of December, the three ships

* 'A Voyage to Georgia, begun in the Year 1735, by Francis Moore.' (8vo, Lon. 1744.) Moore was a very accurate observer; and the most

for Savannah sailed with a crowd of wind-bound vessels, and stood out to sea. John Wesley, in his Journal gives many details of the voyage, but chiefly concerning the manner in which he and his clerical brethren spent their time. One of his biographers, however, repeats the following anecdote as told to him by Wesley himself:—The missionaries frequently visited Mr. Oglethorpe in his cabin. Upon one of these occasions, the officers and certain gentlemen who had been invited took some liberties with the clergymen, not relishing their gravity. Oglethorpe was roused at this, and in a manner not to be misunderstood, cried out, "What do you mean, Sirs? Do you take these gentlemen for tithe-pig parsons? They are gentlemen of learning and respectability. They are my friends; and whoever offers any affront to them insults me." Consequently the missionaries were afterwards treated with the greatest respect by every one on board.*

Boswell and Dryden before him attach much importance to anecdotes as illustrations of biography. "You are led," says the latter, "into the private lodgings of the hero; you see him in his undress, and are made familiar with his most private actions and conversations. . . . Plutarch himself has more than once defended this kind of relating little passages; for, in the Life of Alexander, he says thus: 'In writing the lives of illustrious men, I am not tied to the laws

important events of the voyage, as well as the details of proceedings in Georgia for some months afterwards, are gleaned from his Journal.

* 'Life of the Rev. John Wesley, and of the Rev. Charles Wesley, his Brother, by the Rev. Henry Moore.' (London, 1824.) Vol. i. p. 256.

of history; nor does it follow, that, because an action is great, it therefore manifests the greatness and virtue of him who did it; but, on the other side, sometimes a word or a casual jest betrays a man more to our knowledge of him, than a battle fought wherein ten thousand men were slain, or sacking of cities, or a course of victories.' In another place, he quotes Xenophon on the like occasion: 'The sayings of great men in their familiar discourses, and amidst their wine, have somewhat in them which is worthy to be transmitted to posterity.'" The correctness of these observations is unquestionable; but the same cannot be admitted of Dr. Channing's absurd saying that, "One anecdote of a man is worth a volume of biography," than which a more superficial and indiscriminate sentence never was penned.

Anecdotes, it should be remembered, are often deceptive. As a general rule those which manifestly point to a definite purpose are sure to misrepresent the circumstances out of which they originated, and when a writer evidently desires to glorify one man at the expense of another, it may be concluded that, whatever germ of fact may be contained in the story, his version of it is calculated to mislead. A second anecdote related by the Rev. Henry Moore exhibits palpable evidence of exaggeration:—"Mr. Wesley hearing an unusual noise in the cabin of General Oglethorpe, stepped in to inquire the cause; on which the General immediately addressed him:—'Mr. Wesley, you must excuse me. I have met with a provocation too much for a man to bear. You know, the only

wine I drink is Cyprus wine, as it agrees with me the best of any. I therefore provided myself with several dozens of it, and this villain, Grimaldi (his foreign servant, who was present and almost dead with fear), has drunk nearly the whole of it. But I will be revenged. He shall be tied hand and foot, and carried to the man-of-war. The rascal should have taken care how he used me so; *for I never forgive.*' 'Then I hope, Sir,' said Mr. Wesley, looking calmly at him, 'you never sin.' The General was quite confounded at the reproof; and after a pause putting his hand into his pocket, he took out a bunch of keys which he threw at Grimaldi, saying, 'There, villain! take my keys, and behave better for the future.'" *

The foregoing anecdote is so circumstantially told, that one might fancy the narrator to have been a by-stander. But he was not born at the time; and only professes to have heard it from Wesley some fifty years afterwards. Wesley's memory then failed him; for otherwise he would have remembered that the sloop-of-war was separated from her consorts by a violent gale, on the day after they sailed, and did not join them again during the whole voyage.† The Cyprus wine must have been very tempting indeed, if Grimaldi had consumed several dozens of it by that time. But, evidently the biographer's object was to magnify Wesley, and by putting the words "I never forgive" into Oglethorpe's mouth—

* 'Life of the Rev. John Wesley,' vol. i. p. 258.

† Francis Moore's Journal, p. 15.

words which it is by no means probable he ever uttered—to give a handle for the young missionary's sanctimonious rebuke.

The voyagers had prayers twice a day. The missionaries expounded the Scriptures, catechized the children, and on Sundays administered the Sacrament; while the Dissenters, of whom there were many on board, especially amongst the Germans, sung psalms and served God in their own way. Mr. Oglethorpe had laid in a large supply of live-stock and various dainties, though he himself seldom used any but the ordinary provisions. Not only the gentlemen, his private friends, ate at his table, but through the whole passage he invited the missionaries and the captain of the ship, who together made twelve in number, to partake of his hospitality. The poorer emigrants were divided into messes, and with the salt meat they were served with vegetables which contributed to prevent the scurvy. The holds were partitioned into cabins, with a gangway, which they called "the street" along the middle; and each family had a separate cabin, the single men being by themselves. Constables were appointed by the Governor to preserve order; and during the voyage there was no occasion to punish any one, except a boy who was whipped for stealing turnips.

Whenever the weather permitted, the ships were cleaned between decks and washed with vinegar. Thread, worsted, knitting-needles, etc., were distributed amongst the women, who employed themselves in making stockings and caps for their families, or in

mending their clothes; and every favourable day the men were exercised with small-arms. Mr. Oglethorpe also, when occasion offered, called together all those who were designed to be freeholders, recommended to them how to behave themselves, informed them of the nature of the country of their adoption, and how to settle in it advantageously.

In order to reach the Trade Winds they sailed southwards as far as the 19th degree of north latitude, so that at Christmas they found the weather as hot as midsummer in England, and the passengers consequently became sickly. But Mr. Oglethorpe visited them constantly, and gave them fowls for broth, with other refreshments of his own; and as they had also a skilful surgeon, not a soul died from the time they left the Downs till their arrival in Georgia; but on the contrary their numbers were increased by four births at sea. Whenever the weather was calm enough to permit, Oglethorpe went on board the 'London Merchant' to see that like care was taken of the people in that vessel, with which the 'Symond' kept company all the way.

As they approached the Georgian coast they found the weather bitterly cold, and the wind blew so hard that they were obliged to lie to under reefed mainsails. On the 2nd of February, 1736, they spoke a homeward-bound ship which lay by whilst Oglethorpe wrote letters for England; and at length, on the evening of the 4th, they descried land, which proved to be the island of Tybee at the entrance to the Savannah. They lay on and off all that night, and next day

cast anchor in the river, under the shelter of Tybee, "where," says John Wesley, "the groves of pines running along the shore made an agreeable prospect, showing, as it were, the bloom of spring in the depth of winter."

CHAPTER VII.

FEBRUARY—MARCH, 1736.

Mr. Oglethorpe, before he departed from Georgia in 1734, had made arrangements for the erection of a lighthouse at Tybee, and left all the necessary materials at Savannah, ready to be conveyed to the island. He entrusted the work to a carpenter, a very ingenious workman, allowing him ten assistants, and expected to find it completed on his return. The first thing he did on his arrival was to go and see what progress had been made; but to his great disappointment he found that, though the foundation had been piled, none of the brickwork was raised. When he called the builder to account for his neglect, the man excused himself by saying that to make the beacon more conspicuous he had employed some of the labourers in clearing away the trees, and much time had been taken up in bringing down the timber and piling the foundation: but, he said the delay chiefly arose from his men's not working regularly; for rum was so cheap

in Carolina, from whence they easily got it, that one day's pay would make them drunk for a week, when they minded neither him nor anything else. Oglethorpe was in a very angry mood when he returned to the ship; however he soon afterwards forgave the mechanic, with whom he entered into a new agreement, binding him to time; and also appointed an overseer to inspect the work occasionally.

As it was intended that the new immigrants should settle in the south of the province, they were not to go up to Savannah, but wait at the mouth of the river until preparations had been made for their conveyance to St. Simon's. At eight o'clock on the morning of the 6th they first set foot on American soil. When they had landed on a small uninhabited island, over against Tybee, Mr. Oglethorpe led them to a rising ground, where they all knelt down and gave thanks for their safe arrival. He next showed them where to dig a well, which they did, and found abundance of fresh water; and then taking boat he proceeded to Savannah, where he was received by the freeholders in arms, and a salute of twenty-one guns from the fort. He was as much surprised as gratified by the rapid growth and great improvement of the town, the circumference of which had extended to nearly two miles. The site, which only three years before was covered with a dense forest, was now occupied by more than two hundred comfortable dwellings, some of them two and three stories high. To guard against the spread of fire, the houses were detached, each standing in its own lot of ground, sixty feet in width by ninety in

length, fenced in with stout palings; and each freeholder, in addition to his town plot, had five acres outside the Common, to serve as garden, orchard, etc. The streets were wide, and large squares were left at proper distances, for markets and other public purposes. Where the town-land ended little suburban villages began, and beyond these were lots of 500 acres, some of which had been already granted to independent settlers.

Savannah was locally governed by three Bailiffs; and the laws were administered by the Recorder and the Registrar of the Town-court, where all cases, civil and criminal, were decided by grand and petty juries, just as in England, with this difference,—"No lawyers were allowed to plead for hire, nor attornies to make money; but every man pleaded his own cause." As no public building except the storehouse had as yet been erected, the sessions were held in a large wooden hut, wherein divine service also was performed. Mr. Oglethorpe therefore immediately ordered a temporary hall to be constructed, large enough to serve as a church until a sacred edifice could be raised. Several of the inhabitants of Savannah, who had migrated thither at their own risks, were people of good substance, while most of those poor persons whom the Trustees had sent over were well to do, and acknowledged that they had thriven beyond their expectations. All were prosperous and contented, with the exception of those who had idled away their time and made bad use of their advantages; and they, as is always the case, found fault with everything and blamed

everybody but themselves. The grumblers, however, were comparatively few.

Oglethorpe was greatly pleased on visiting the Public Gardens, which lay eastward of the town, in a delightful situation near the river. It contained ten acres of undulating ground, and was sheltered on the north by a grove of American ash, bay, hickory, myrtle, sassafras, and other choice trees and shrubs, which had been spared from the original forest. In this grove were also several specimens of the "tulip-laurel," one of the most beautiful of trees.* The coldest quarter of the garden was set apart for apples, pears, plums, and such hardy fruits; while a warmer quarter was appropriated to olives, figs, vines, pomegranates, etc.; and, in the most sunny spot, protected from the north wind, was a collection of tropical plants—coffee, cotton, *Palma Christi*, etc., procured by Dr. Houstoun, who had been sent to the West Indies by Sir Hans Sloane to select those species most likely to prove valuable to the new colony. The remainder of the ground was laid out with cross-walks bordered by orange-trees, and the intermediate squares were planted with vast numbers of the white mulberry, this being the nursery from which the settlers were to be freely supplied. But

* A variety of the Magnolia; apparently *M. grandiflora*. Moore describes it as growing straight-bodied to a height of fifty feet; the bark smooth and whitish; the top spread out like the orange-tree; the leaf like that of the common laurel, but larger; and the under side of a greenish-brown. The flowers, of a pure white tinged with yellow towards the centre, when in perfection, about the month of June, are from eight to ten inches in diameter, and emit a delicious fragrance, which perfumes the air around. When the blossoms drop, they are succeeded by cone-shaped clusters of scarlet berries.

in the culture of silk, one of the Governor's most cherished schemes, he was grievously disappointed. The Italians who had been brought from Piedmont by Mr. Amatis had gone on very well for some time, till at length falling out among themselves, one of them destroyed the machines for winding, spoiled many of the eggs, stole more, and fled to Carolina. The foreigners who had remained faithful had saved but a few eggs; Mr. Oglethorpe, therefore, ordered no more silk to be wound that year, but that the worms should be allowed to breed against the next. He also obliged the Italian women to take English girls as apprentices, and the men to teach the gardeners how to tend the trees, as well as the joiners to make the machinery.

The view which he saw from the high bank overlooking the Savannah differed considerably from that which he beheld when he came to mark out the site of the first settlement. Besides several smaller craft at the quay, two vessels, the 'James,' in the service of the trustees, and a ship crowded with passengers from Bristol, were moored close by. A bridged wharf was being constructed, and an easy ascent made from the river to the town. The large island opposite was now a pasture on which grazed numerous cattle. Westwards, the stream wound as of old, through woods; but these woods were now broken here and there by Westbrook, Purrysburgh, and other villages. Inland, towards the south, might be seen the pretty hamlets named Highgate and Hampstead; and eastward the expanding river, dotted with boats, ran on until it reached the islands and sea-passages, where lay the

English shipping. Amidst the greetings of his old acquaintances, and the wonders by which he was surrounded, Oglethorpe was not unmindful of the people at Tybee. Immediately on his arrival at Savannah, he ordered a supply of refreshments to be sent down to them; and on the evening of the 8th, he himself returned in the scout-boat,* which was laden with fresh beef and pork, venison, wild turkeys, soft bread, beer, and various vegetables, enough to last for several days. These comforts were not only very agreeable to persons after a long voyage, but were doubly acceptable to them, as the produce of a colony begun by those who within three years had been in no better circumstances than themselves.

During Oglethorpe's absence the ships had been visited by sutlers from Carolina, who managed to smuggle rum on board; but the officers whom he had left in charge, on making the discovery, ordered the kegs to be staved. By way of revenge, the sutlers, who had before vainly endeavoured to intimidate the Highlanders, spread reports that all who went to the south would be massacred by the Spaniards and Indians.† The Germans, who had come with the intention of settling at St. Simon's along with their English

* A swift, strongly-built boat, with three swivel guns and ten oars, kept for visiting the river-passages and islands, and preventing the incursions of Indians or negroes from Florida.

† Traders from Carolina having told the Scots that the place they were designed to settle was so near the Spanish fort and town that the Spaniards might shoot them even at the doors of their houses, the Highlanders bravely replied,—"If the Spaniards use us ill, we will drive them out of their fort, and so have houses ready built to our hands."—'Political State of Great Britain,' vol. lii. p. 35.

fellow-passengers, consequently became alarmed, and begged of the Governor to send them to Ebenezer, that, as they said, they might have the benefit of their ministers, and because fighting was contrary to their religion. Captain Hermsdorf, however, came to Oglethorpe, and expressed his desire that he might be put upon every occasion of service, if there should be any, saying he would never forsake him, but serve with the English to the last. Oglethorpe replied, that the stories which had been spread were quite groundless, there being as little danger in the south as in the north; that the Indians were in alliance with us, and the Spaniards at peace; and that, as we should not molest them, it was not to be supposed they would attack us. "Yet still," said he, "caution is the mother of safety, and therefore it is fitting to keep the men to arms and discipline; and for that reason I shall be glad of your assistance." He then addressed the English immigrants, in order to allay any dread they might entertain.

The delay appears to have arisen in consequence of the masters of the 'Symond' and the 'London Merchant' having declined to proceed to St. Simon's without pilots, who at present were not to be had. Oglethorpe, therefore, assured the people that no exertion should be spared to forward them as soon as possible, and after three hours' stay, he again left them for a while. To add to his troubles, he learned that the pious but somewhat pusillanimous Salzburgers were discontented with their settlement, and he considered it advisable to visit them. It was midnight when he reached

Savannah, and he purposed going on at once to Ebenezer, but the German ministers who were to accompany him did not like to travel by night. So he rested for a few hours at his hired lodging in the town, and early next morning they all set out, rowing up the river to Sir Francis Bathurst's, where they took horse for the settlement.

He found that the Salzburgers, though they had comfortable houses ready built in a pleasant situation, and much ground cleared, with a fine range for cattle, were pertinaciously bent upon removing. They objected that the land was not good, and that their corn harvest had failed; yet they confessed that their cattle had thriven, they had plenty of milk, fine poultry and eggs, with excellent peas and other vegetables. But the truth was, they coveted a spot which the Indians had reserved for their own use. This Oglethorpe could not grant them; but, having in vain endeavoured to dissuade them, he gave them leave to remove to a place called the Red Bluff, and permitted their newcome countrymen to join them. This affair occupied him three days' time, which, from the multiplicity of business he had in hand, he could badly spare.

It may here be added that Mr. Spanbenberg, one of their ministers—who, by the way, was held in high esteem by John Wesley—wishing to ingratiate himself with Oglethorpe, informed him that several Germans over whom he had influence had gone to Pennsylvania, and that he would go thither and fetch them to Georgia, to be an increase and strength to the province. To which Oglethorpe replied, he would not inveigle

any man from another colony; but if Mr. Penn was desirous they should come away, he was willing to receive them, and at Spanbenberg's request he gave him a letter for Mr. Penn to that effect.

The Governor, on the day he returned to Savannah, sent fifty rangers and a hundred workmen, with Captain M'Pherson and his company, overland to Darien, in order to support the Highland settlers there. And as he desired to open a communication by land with that place, he also appointed surveyors to inspect the country between the Savannah and the Alatamaha, and discover where a road might be most conveniently made. He commanded an officer with a party of rangers to escort them, procured Indian guides, and furnished them with pack-horses to carry their provisions.

On the 12th he went down to the ships at Tybee, where he was visited on board the 'Symond' by Tomo Chichi, Scenaukay his wife, and his nephew, with their attendants carrying venison and other refreshments. Oglethorpe having introduced the missionaries, "I am glad you are come," said the Indian Chief to Wesley. "When I was in England, I desired that some would speak *the Great Word* to me. I will go up and speak to the wise men of our nation, and I hope they will hear. But we would not be made Christians as the Spaniards make Christians; we would be taught before we are baptized." Scenaukay then presented the missionaries with two large jars, one of honey and one of milk, and invited them to Yamacraw to teach their children, saying that the honey and milk represented their inclinations.

Tomo Chichi told Mr. Oglethorpe that he had sent the Creeks notice of his arrival, by two runners who had awaited his coming for some months, and that he had also sent a party of Indians to help the Highlanders at Darien. He likewise said the Uchees complained that, contrary to the capitulation, cattle had been brought into their country, and that planters from Carolina had come with negroes and settled therein. Oglethorpe thereupon sent orders to Captain M'Intosh desiring him to give notice to these persons to withdraw their cattle and negroes, and if within three days they did not send the negroes away, they were to be seized and brought to Savannah, there to be handed over to the magistrates, and proceedings taken against them. At the same time he issued a proclamation announcing the provisions of the Act for maintaining peace with the Indians.

Mr. Oglethorpe being much concerned at the unavoidable delay in transporting the new settlers to the south, at length resorted to an expedient in order to prove to the masters of the English vessels that there was no difficulty in the navigation of Jekyll Sound. He accordingly purchased at a high price the colonial sloop 'Midnight' with her cargo, on condition that the latter should be delivered at a station on the Alatamaha; and having sent thirty of the old colonists—all single men and trained soldiers, with arms and ammunition on board, ordered them to proceed in the sloop and await him at St. Simon's.

On the 16th, accompanied by Captain Hermsdorf, the missionary Ingham and a few Indians, he himself

set out in the scout-boat for the same place, leaving Francis Moore, the store-keeper, to take care of the people at Tybee. The hardy crew rowed the voyagers along through the passages between the islands and the mainland, the straits varying in width from two hundred yards to more than a mile. Many of the islands were covered with trees to the water's edge, and with the clear sea-green hue and the stillness of the channels sheltered by the woods, formed a pleasing picture; while in other places were wide marshes, so hard that cattle fed upon them, though at spring-tide they were always covered with water. They passed between the island of Wilmington and the mainland, where five planters of five hundred acre lots had built their houses together and erected a fort for mutual protection. The country looked very agreeable, the beach being of white sand, the woods lofty, and the land hilly.

Leaving Skidoway on the left, and the Vernon and Ogechee rivers on the right, they pressed forward. Oglethorpe being in haste, the crew rowed night and day, and had no rest except when a snatch of wind favoured them. Though they had boisterous weather the men were very willing, and vied with each other to please their Governor. "Indeed," says one of the passengers, "he lightened their fatigue by giving them refreshments, which he spared from himself rather than let them want." The Indians also, seeing the men hard laboured, desired to take the oars, and rowed well, only differing from the others by making a short and a long stroke alternately, which they called "the Yamasee stroke."

They reached St. Simon's on the morning of the 18th, when Oglethorpe ordered the men to look to their arms, new prime their swivel guns, and make everything ready for fear of accident. They then cautiously traversed one of the branches of the Alatamaha, keeping close under the reeds so as not to be seen, till they descried a sail, which proved to be the 'Midnight.' The masters of the English vessels at Tybee, being aboard her, said they found there was water enough to carry in their ships; and Oglethorpe made a present to the Captain of the sloop for having been the first to enter the port.

He had no sooner landed than he marked out a site for a booth to hold the stores, and immediately set all hands to work, digging the ground three feet deep, and throwing up the earth so as to form a bank, on which forked poles were raised, and the whole securely thatched with palmetto leaves. Several bowers in which to lodge the families when they should arrive, were then laid out in similar fashion; and, after their day's work they all made merry over a plentiful repast of game brought in by the Indians. Next morning Oglethorpe began to mark out a fort with four bastions, and spent three days with the men teaching them how to dig the ditch and turf the ramparts.

On the 22nd he ascended the Alatamaha as far as Darien, sixteen miles from Frederica, and arrived there in about three hours. The Highlanders, at sight of a boat, were soon under arms, and presented a very martial appearance with their broad-swords, targets, and fire-arms. They were no less rejoiced to hear that

a town was about to be settled so near them, than they had been on learning that an inland line of communication was opened with Savannah, Captain M'Pherson with his party of rangers having arrived from thence. The Governor was invited by Captain Mackay, the commanding officer, to sleep in his tent in which was a soft bed with holland sheets and plaid curtains—a rare comfort then in that part of the world. But he chose to lie at the guard fire, wrapped in his own plaid; for in compliment to the Scots he wore the Highland costume. The Captain and other gentlemen followed his example, though the night was very cold.

Oglethorpe doubtless recalled to mind the above and many similar incidents when, more than forty years afterwards, Dr. Johnson and he debated on the subject of luxury; the one arguing presumptively, the other from personal experience. "Depend upon it, Sir," said Johnson, "every state of society is as luxurious as it can be. Men always take the best they can get." To which the General replied, "But the best depends much upon ourselves; and if we can be as well satisfied with plain things, we are in the wrong to accustom our palates to what is high-seasoned and expensive. What says Addison in his 'Cato,' speaking of the Numidian?

> "'Coarse are his meals, the fortune of the chase
> Amid the running stream he slakes his thirst,
> Toils all the day, and at the approach of night,
> On the first friendly bank he throws him down,
> Or rests his head upon a rock till morn;
> And if the following day he chance to find

A new repast, or an untasted spring,
Blesses his stars, and thinks it luxury.'

"Let us have *that* kind of luxury, Sir, if you will."*

The Highlanders had already raised a little fort on which were planted four cannon they had carried with them, and they had built not only a guard house and a store, but also a chapel; for they were accompanied by their minister, Mr. M'Leod, "a very good man, careful in instructing the people, without intermeddling with other affairs." Several Indians, who were at Darien, agreed well with the Highlanders, and constantly brought them venison and other game.† Next morning Oglethorpe went back to Frederica, whence he returned to Tybee the same way he had come.

While he was in the south, the people at Tybee were liberally supplied with fresh provisions and beer. Lest the unwary might be tempted to squander what little cash they had, on drams or sutlers' trash, no boats were allowed to approach them without a licence; but at the same time every care was taken to render their restraint as little irksome as possible. They slept in their ships, but landed daily on Peeper Island, where

* Boswell, chap. lxiv. (Tuesday, April 14th, 1778.)

† "The costume of the Highland clansman, his cap and plume, his kilt and plaid, soon became very dear to the red man of the woods; they mingled in their sports, and hunted the buffalo together;—for the woods of Georgia were then as full of buffaloes as the plains of Missouri are now; and the writer of this notice was told when a boy, by General Lachlan M'Intosh, that when a youth he had seen 10,000 buffalo within ten miles of [New] Inverness."—T. Spalding's Memoir of M'Intosh, in 'Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans,' (New York, 1836), vol. iii.

the women washed their linen and cooked their meals by fragrant fires of cedar and bay, "which to people new come from England seemed an extraordinary luxury." Some of the men were employed in helping to build the lighthouse on Tybee, while others passed the time in hunting or fishing. On the shore were banks of excellent oysters, dry at low water, so as to be easily gathered; and the forest not only afforded game and honey, but presented some strange sights, especially the long pale-green moss which grew upon the large trees, hanging down four or five yards from the boughs, and giving a noble and hoary aspect to the woods.*

Oglethorpe returned on the 25th, and having found it impossible to prevail upon the masters of the 'Symond' and 'London Merchant' to carry the immigrants to Jekyll Sound, he called all the men together and acquainted them with the difficulties of a voyage of 130 miles in open boats; that it would probably take fourteen days, certainly not less than six; and that they must sleep in the woods on their way. He added that, upon reflection, he feared the southern settlement was not suitable for women and children, and therefore he would permit those who so desired to settle in the neighbourhood of Savannah. Then telling the men to consult their wives and families, he ap-

* "When dried," says Moore, "the moss is black, and like horse-hair. This the Indians use for wadding their guns, and making their touches soft under the skins of beasts, which serve them for beds. They use it for tinder, striking fire by flashing the pans of their guns into a handful of it; and for all other uses where old linen would be necessary."—'A Voyage to Georgia in 1735,' p. 39.

pointed to meet them again in two hours. On his return they said they were prepared to encounter the hardships he had represented, since they were no more than they were led to expect before leaving England, and as they had come to make a town of their own and live together they would not forsake one another, but wished all to go and settle at Frederica, as at first proposed.

As it took some days to collect a sufficient number of boats, it was not till the 2nd of March that all the people had embarked in periaguas.* Oglethorpe accompanied them in the scout-boat, taking the hindermost periagua in tow. In order to make them keep together as much as possible he had all the beer put into one boat which took the lead, an expedient which made the others labour to keep up with her; for those who were not at the rendezvous at night, were obliged to do without their allowance of malt liquor. They reached their destination on the 8th, and landed where the town of Frederica was about to be built.

The new colonists were delighted with the scene. The whole island, about fifteen miles long and from two to five miles broad, with the exception of a fine prairie and a few acres of high land cleared by the Indians, was covered with a forest of cedar, bay, laurel,

* Periaguas were long, flat-bottomed boats carrying from twenty to forty tons. They had a cabin and forecastle, but no deck between; with two masts, which could be struck; and when the wind favoured, sailed like schooners. Though generally propelled by only two oars, on this occasion additional oars were employed, by which means the voyage was performed in less than six days.

and, towering above all, the majestic live-oak; while the vines which clung upon the skirts of the wood, led the people to hope that wine might ere long be one of their products. Game in great variety abounded, not only on the mainland, but on St. Simon's and the adjacent islands; and, besides roebucks, turkeys, partridges, raccoons, rabbits, and squirrels, there were the turtle-dove, the bobolink, and the rice-bird. The mocking-bird and the red-bird, also, made the air resound with wild notes such as never were heard in Europe. The soil in the interior of the island was sandy, with an intermixture of rich mould, the marshes consisting of clay; and excellent fresh water was to be found within ten feet of the surface. It should be added that there were rattlesnakes in the woods and marshes, and alligators might be seen in Jekyll Sound.*

Next day Oglethorpe divided the men and boys into parties, one to cut forks, poles, and laths for making more bowers, another to set them up, a third to fetch palmetto leaves, a fourth to thatch; and a Jew workman bred in the Brazils, who had come from Savannah, taught them to perform all this nimbly and neatly. The streets were already laid out, and every family had a bower upon their own allotment. These palmetto bowers, being tight in the heaviest rain, formed very convenient temporary shelters. They were formed in regular rows and looked well, the

* It is said that Oglethorpe once carried a young alligator up to the town of Savannah, and encouraged the boys to beat it with sticks, that they might not be afraid of the monster.

leaves, which were of a pleasing colour, lying "smooth and handsome." Three large tents, two belonging to the Governor and one to Mr. Horton, an independent settler, were pitched upon the parade near the river, and "the whole," says the storekeeper, who arrived a few days later, "appeared something like a camp; for the bowers looked like tents."

Oglethorpe hired several labourers to work at the fort, and engaged men who knew the nature of the country, to instruct the colonists in hoeing and planting. As the season was so far advanced, he expected but little profit from the ensuing harvest; therefore what he ordered to be done was chiefly with the view of teaching the people against the next season. There were potatoes and Indian corn in the ground, also flax and hemp, which came to little, being set too late. Barley, turnip, pumkin, melon, and other seeds were sown daily; all for the benefit of the southern community, though they were assisted by several of their fellow-settlers from Savannah. They were surprised, one morning, to see a team and six horses ploughing, not having heard anything of it before. The horses were those that had carried provisions for the surveyors, and had been sent down in periaguas from Darien to Frederica. The surveyors reported that the country between the Savannah and the Alatamaha was passable for horses, by a route of about ninety miles; but that the road might be carried so as to make the distance no more than seventy. This news caused much joy to the people of Frederica, since they should have a direct line of communication by land from

Darien to the northern provinces; for Mr. Oglethorpe had entered into an agreement with Mr. Jonathan Brian, who contracted to make a road from his own house in South Carolina to the river Savannah, and from thence to the southern settlements.

CHAPTER VIII.

MARCH—APRIL, 1736.

The Creeks, after Tomo Chichi's return from England, confirmed their grants of territory to Great Britain; and the old Mico now came down to Frederica, in order to point out the limits of their possessions. Oglethorpe was unwilling to leave the new settlement so soon, and would have postponed the excursion; but as the red men said they would go hunt the buffalo upon the mainland he—fearing lest under that pretence they meant to annoy the Spaniards—determined to proceed with them along the coast, so to keep them in check and at the same time lay claim to those islands which formed a portion of their concession.

The reader will remember that Mr. Charles Dempsey who had been commissioned to confer with the Governor of Florida concerning the boundary between that country and Georgia, had sailed from England with Oglethorpe. The latter, before he first proceeded

to St. Simon's, left orders with Major Richards, of Purrysburgh, to conduct the Commissioner to St. Augustine, in the best boat he could procure, and by that opportunity he sent a conciliatory letter to the Spanish Governor. Mr. Dempsey and the Major accordingly left Savannah on the 19th of February, but nothing had since been heard of them; and as Oglethorpe was very anxious about their safety, he purposed extending his coasting voyage as far as the river St. John, to make personal inquiry after them of the guard upon the Florida frontier. As soon, therefore, as he had put Frederica into some condition of defence and had made arrangements for his temporary absence, leaving Captain Hermsdorf in military command, he started upon his expedition.

On the 18th of March he set out with two scout-boats, accompanied, in their canoes, by Tomo Chichi and forty Indians, all chosen warriors and good hunters. He did not wish to take too many, lest their strength might tempt them to hostility against the Spaniards, to avoid which was his chief care. Rowing across Jekyll Sound they bivouacked in a grove of pines upon the mainland, where they slept by three fires,—one for the Governor and the gentlemen with him, one for the boatmen, and one for the Indians. Next day they pursued their voyage southwards, and in the afternoon reached a fine island hitherto called *Wissoo*, or Sassafras, but which Tomo Chichi on this occasion re-named CUMBERLAND in honour of the young Prince, who had been very gracious to the Indians when in England, particularly to Tooanahowi, the Mico's nephew, to whom

his Royal Highness had given a gold repeating watch. Tooanahowi now holding it in his hand, said, "The Duke gave us this watch that we might know how the time passes. We will remember him at all times, and therefore give this island his name." The high western point of Cumberland commanding the passage for boats, Oglethorpe marked out thereon a fort to be called St. Andrew's, and ordered Captain Mackay to build it according to his directions, leaving with him a few Highlanders, and some Indians to hunt for them.

The voyagers encamped that night on the south end of the island, and on the following morning, after rowing through narrow and shoaly passes amongst the marshes, came to a delightful isle, about thirteen miles long and two miles broad, which the Spaniards, on account of its beauty, had named *Santa Maria*. The shore was clothed with myrtle, peach, and orange trees covered with blossoms, and interlaced with wild vines which hung in festoons from the branches, as if twined by art. Oglethorpe having changed the name of the isle to AMELIA, in compliment to that Princess, he and his companions rowed across the Clogothea, a branch of the Alatamaha, when Tomo Chichi chose to pass the night upon a spot where grew but a few straggling pines, the land for about a mile being clear of trees but thick of shrubs and palmettos. The reason given by the Mico for fixing upon this situation was—if the Florida Indians were in that neighbourhood and approached by night, they would be discovered by the noise of the palmetto leaves; and, said he, "You Englishmen being used to fight on

open ground I choose this place as the most advantageous to you."

On the following morning they came to another island which had borne the title of *San Juan*, but Oglethorpe finding that, according to the treaty with the Indians, it belonged to England, styled it GEORGE. Here he found the remains of an old fort, supposed to have been constructed by Sir Francis Drake, which, soon afterwards, he sent Captain Hermsdorf, with a detachment of Highlanders to repair and occupy. Tomo Chichi then conducted them through several channels till they came to two rocky heights covered with cedar and bay trees. Climbing to the top of one of these heights he showed the Governor a wide river (the St. John's) and pointed out a house on the other side. "That," said he, "is the Spanish guard. All on this side of that river we hunt; it is our ground. All on the other side they hunt; but, as they have lately hurt some of our people, we will now drive them away. We will stay till night behind these rocks, where they cannot see us, and then we will fall upon them."

Oglethorpe found much difficulty in persuading the Indians, some of whose relations had been killed the winter before by a detachment from St. Augustine, not to attack the Spaniards; but at length prevailed upon them to return to the Palmetto grounds near Amelia Island, where he promised to meet them. Not caring however, to trust them, lest they should turn back and invade the Spanish territory, he ordered Mr. Horton with one of the scout-boats to attend them,

while with the other boat he himself entered the river St. John's, to inquire at the Spanish guard-house what had become of Major Richards and the boat sent to Augustine with Mr. Dempsey. The hut he had perceived from the rock was the upper look-out, but seeing no people there he concluded it was deserted, and went to the lower look-out, where, likewise, no one was to be found. He therefore proceeded down to the sea, and rounding the point of St. George, passed between that and Talbot Island, returning in the evening to the Palmetto ground, where he met Mr. Horton with the scout-boat and some canoes with Indians; but Tomo Chichi had gone on.

In the middle of the night the sentry challenged a boat, when Umpichy, one of the Indians who had been in England, answered, and at the same time jumping ashore, followed by three others, ran up to the fire near which Oglethorpe lay. They were in an indescribable rage, their eyes glowed, they foamed at the mouth, and seemed as if possessed. When Oglethorpe inquired what was the matter, Umpichy replied, "Tomo Chichi has seen enemies, and has sent us to tell you and to help you." Being asked why the Mico did not himself come back, he said, "Tomo Chichi is an old warrior, and will not come away from his enemies till he has seen them so near as to count them. He saw their fires, and before daylight will be revenged for his men whom they killed while he was away; but *we* shall have no honour, for we shall not be there." Whereupon the rest of the Indians caught the raging fit at the thought of their

not being present. When asked if there were many enemies, Umpichy answered, "Yes, a great many, for they had a large fire upon high ground, and the Indians never make large fires unless they are so strong as to defy all resistance."

Oglethorpe immediately ordered all his men into the boats, and they rowed briskly to the place where Tomo Chichi lay, about four miles off. They found him and his followers with only a few sparks of fire behind a bush, so as to prevent discovery. He told the Governor he had seen seven or eight white men around a great fire, but the Indians he believed had concealed themselves in the woods. "I am going again," he added, "to track them out, and will then give the signal to attack both parties at once; for when we know where the Indians are, we are sure of killing the white men, since the fire, which makes them easily seen, hinders them from seeing others." Oglethorpe strove to dissuade him from his purpose, and with great difficulty obtained a little delay; but the Indians, thinking it looked like cowardice to forbear any longer, at last got up, and determined to go in spite of every remonstrance; on which Oglethorpe told them, "You go to kill your enemies in the night, because you are afraid of them by day. Now, I do not fear them at any time. Therefore stay till day, and I will go with you, and see who they are." Tomo Chichi sighed, and sat down, saying, "We do not fear them by day, but if we don't kill them to-night, they will kill you to-morrow." So they stayed. At daybreak they all approached the fire. On their way, a

boat with a white flag flying was seen on the shore, and the supposed enemies, much to Oglethorpe's delight and the Indians' abasement, proved to be Major Richards and his crew returned from Florida.

The Major reported that he and Mr. Dempsey had been cast away before they got to St. Augustine, and lost their baggage, though the boat and men were saved. After scrambling through the breakers, and walking some miles along the sands, they were met by Don Pedro Lamberto, a captain of horse, and by him conducted to the Governor, who received them with great courtesy. He added, that his long stay arose from the delay of getting the boat repaired; and handing Mr. Oglethorpe letters from Don Francisco del Morale Sanchez, Captain-General of Florida and Governor of St. Augustine, said his Excellency expected an answer in three weeks, and requested that the Major himself would carry it.

The same day they returned to St. Andrew's, where Mr. Oglethorpe landed, and was surprised to find the fort in great forwardness, although Captain Mackay had neither an engineer nor any other guidance, except the instructions which Oglethorpe had given him. Moreover, the ground, consisting of loose sand, made it difficult to raise the work; therefore, says Moore, "they used the same method to support it as Cæsar mentions in the wars of the Gauls, laying trees and earth alternately, the trees preventing the sand from falling, and the sand the wood from fire."* Mr. Oglethorpe thanked the Scots for their exertions on behalf

* 'A Voyage to Georgia, begun in 1735,' p. 70.

of the colony, and offered to take some of them back to their settlement; but they all said that while there was any danger they wished to stay and finish their task. However, he ordered two men who had families at Darien to come along with him, and thence, with the white men and boats, returned to Frederica, where he arrived on the evening of the 25th of March.

Immediately after landing, he called the freeholders together, and, in order to prevent the ill-impressions which idle reports might occasion, communicated to them the contents of the Spanish Governor's dispatches. These commenced with flowery compliments and thanks for the letters delivered by Don Carlos Dempsey and Major Richards; but his Excellency, at the same time, complained that the Creeks had attacked and defeated some Spaniards, and, as further hostilities were to be feared, he desired that Don Diego Oglethorpe would restrain his Indian allies. But Oglethorpe, by private advices which he did not deem it prudent to communicate generally, had been informed that the Governor of St. Augustine, notwithstanding his friendly professions, had sent to purchase arms at Charlestown, and was preparing to send the Florida Indians or Yamasees, with a detachment from the Spanish garrison, to drive the English out of Georgia; and that the complaint of hostilities by the Creeks was a subterfuge to serve as a reason for such measures, as well as to cast the blame of having begun the war upon us.

Oglethorpe being fearful of what the event might be in case he should be attacked before the arrival of the

sloop-of-war, and of an independent Company from Carolina, determined to fit out a large periagua, with twenty oars and four swivel-guns, and send her along with a marine-boat to the St. John's, so that by patrolling in that river they might hinder the Creeks from passing it, and thereby causing pretence of hostilities to the Spaniards, against whom they were very inveterate. He also ordered a scout-boat to cruise between the islands of Amelia and Cumberland, and stationed other boats off St. Simon's, hoping that these, with the assistance of the land-batteries, would prevent hostile vessels from entering Jekyll Sound. He then requested Tomo Chichi, who with his followers had encamped near Frederica, to dispatch parties of Indians to meet the Creek hunters, and desire them not to molest the Spaniards until a conference should be held, when he would try to get justice done them, but to keep upon the mainland in the neighbourhood, and watch lest any Spanish horse should pass towards Darien. Before the Indians decamped they held a war-dance, which was attended by Oglethorpe and all his people. Having given the red men presents, he dismissed them, with thanks for their fidelity, and Tomo Chichi repaired to Yamacraw, in order to send more of his warriors down to Darien.

The foreign affairs—so to speak—of the colony were so precarious as to cause Oglethorpe anxiety enough without a further accession of troubles. It was therefore with much pain and concern that, on his return to Frederica, he found the settlement in a state of internal turmoil. In order to account for this alarming

disquiet, it is necessary to revert to the missionaries. Of John Wesley, who with Delamotte had gone to Savannah, we shall by-and-by have occasion to speak. Charles Wesley having, in addition to his ministerial duties, undertaken the office of Secretary to the Governor, followed him to Frederica, and arrived there on the 9th of March, under which date he recorded in his journal:—"Mr. Oglethorpe received me very kindly. In the afternoon we had prayers, at which he was present." But, two days later, he wrote,—"I had the first harsh word from Mr. Oglethorpe when I asked for something for a poor woman;" and next day, "I was surprised by a rougher answer, in a matter that deserved still greater encouragement. I know not how to account for his increasing coldness." On the 16th, he added, "I was wholly spent in writing letters for Mr. Oglethorpe. I would not spend six days more in the same manner for all Georgia."

It is evident then that Oglethorpe, though he still retained his old affection for the Wesleys, had, for some reason or other, lost confidence in his Secretary. The truth would seem to be that women were at the bottom of the mischief; for as Southey remarks,—"Charles Wesley attempted the doubly difficult task of reforming some of the lady colonists, and reconciling their petty jealousies and hatreds of each other; in which he succeeded no farther than just to make them cordially agree in hating him, and caballing to get rid of him in any way."* Oglethorpe had ordered that no one should shoot on Sundays; but the first Sunday

* 'The Life of Wesley,' (ed. 1858,) vol. i. p. 60.

he was absent, a gun was let off during the sermon. The constable ran out and finding it was the doctor who had fired, said he must accompany him to the officer in command. The delinquent indignantly refused, whereupon the constable consulted Captain Hermsdorf, and returning with two soldiers brought the doctor to the guard-house. Charles Wesley, through the malicious representation of one of his own female converts whom he styles M. W., had been led to believe—as he insinuates, but does not plainly state, in his journal—that the doctor's wife was too familiar with Oglethorpe; so the latter lady, who was the "hopeful convert" of his brother John, having some secret grounds of quarrel with Charles, now accused him of causing her husband's imprisonment, and she openly threatened revenge.

Oglethorpe, the morning after returning from his excursion, sent for his Secretary. "He charged me," says Wesley, "with mutiny and sedition; with stirring up the people to desert the colony. Accordingly, he said, they had had a meeting last night, and sent a messenger to him this morning, desiring leave to go; that their speaker had informed against them, and me the spring of all; that the men were such as constantly came to prayers, therefore I must have instigated them, and that he should not scruple shooting half-a-dozen of them at once, but, out of kindness, first spoke to me." Wesley desiring to answer his accuser face to face, one Lawley was sent for. Meanwhile he ingeniously suggested, "'Show only the least disinclination to find me guilty, and you shall see what a turn it

will give to the accusation.' He took the hint, and instead of calling upon Lawley to make good his charge, began with the quarrel in general, but did not show himself angry with me, or desirous to find me to blame. Lawley, who appeared full of guilt and fear, upon this dropped his accusation, or shrunk it into my forcing the people to prayers." Thus was the Secretary, as he says, delivered out of the mouth of the lion.

Next morning, however, the Governor's wrath was rekindled by learning that a woman had miscarried owing to the doctor's imprisonment. Wesley denied all complicity in the arrest, and said, the officer had acknowledged as much. To which Oglethorpe replied:—"Hermsdorf himself assured me, what he did, he did by your advice."—"You must mistake his imperfect English," returned Charles, "yet I must be charged with all this mischief."—"How else can it be," was the rejoinder, "that there should be no love, no meekness, no true religion, but instead, mere formal prayers?" Meeting again that evening, the Governor asked, when they should have prayers. Wesley said he waited his pleasure; and while the people came slowly, remarked, "You see, Sir, they do not lay too great a stress on forms."—To which Oglethorpe replied, "The reason of that is because others idolize them!"—"I believe very few stay away for that reason," added the Missionary.—"I don't know that," was the answer he received. They both then entered, when, says Wesley,—"Mr. Oglethorpe stood over against me and joined audibly in the prayers."

The people continued in a state of confusion, insomuch that Oglethorpe said it was easier to govern a thousand men than sixty; for in so small a number every one's passion was considerable; and he durst not leave them before they were settled. He still considered that the disorder was excited by Charles—whose blind zeal and indiscretion had indeed raised it—and no explanation could remove an unfavourable impression from his mind. From his knowledge of the piety of their father and of the ability, learning, and self-denial of the young Wesleys themselves, he had hoped that the brothers would essentially contribute to the welfare of the colony; and his vexation was the greater when he found that they set more value upon baptism by immersion and other rubrical formularies than upon "love, meekness, and true religion." For Charles he entertained an almost paternal affection; and—if we admit some statements in the 'Journal' to be unexaggerated—his subsequent harsh treatment of the young man would seem unaccountable, unless we liken it to temporary revulsion of feeling in a father towards a wayward son whose conduct he found it necessary openly to discountenance by manifest severity.

It appears from an entry in the 'Journal' of Charles Wesley, that knowing he was to live with Mr. Oglethorpe, he had brought nothing from England, except his clothes and books; and one morning, having asked a servant for some article he wanted, he was told Mr. Oglethorpe had given orders that none of his things should be used. He answered,—"That order, I sup-

pose, does not extend to me."—"Yes, Sir," said she, "you was excepted by name." Next day he complains that, having lain hitherto on the ground in the corner of a hut, and hearing some boards were to be disposed of, he attempted in vain to get a few of them to lie upon, although they were given to all besides; and on the last day of March he remarks, he could not be more trampled upon were he a fallen minister of state. The people had found out that he was in disgrace; his few well-wishers were afraid to speak to him; some had turned out of the way to avoid him; the servant who should have washed his linen sent it back unwashed. He sometimes pitied and sometimes diverted himself with their contempt; but found the benefit of having undergone a lower degree of obloquy at Oxford.

At last his outward hardships and inward conflicts, with the bitterness of reproach from the only man he wished to please, had borne his boasted courage down, and he was forced by a friendly fever to take to his bed. On the 6th of April, before he had quite recovered, he jots down, what must not be withheld, hard though it be to credit:—"To-day Mr. Oglethorpe gave away my bedstead from under me, and refused to spare one of the carpenters to mend me another." Charles had sent for his brother, who arrived on Saturday the 10th of April, and was received by Oglethorpe with "abundant kindness." Next day John Wesley preached on the text "Which of you convinceth me of sin?" and entered in *his* Journal:—"In every one of the six following days I had some fresh proofs of the absolute necessity of following that ad-

vice of the Apostle, "Judge not before the time."* Governed, probably, by this counsel, he does not record a single remark respecting the differences between his brother and Oglethorpe; but Charles having peevishly come to a resolution, "which honour and indignation had formed," to starve rather than ask for necessaries, John dissuaded him from it, and on the 17th returned to Savannah.

Meanwhile Oglethorpe did not for a moment relax his efforts to strengthen the defences, and provide for the comfort of the people. He had the works round the fort palisaded with cedar posts; had platforms of planks laid for cannon upon the bastions; and converted a piece of marshy ground below the fort into a work called a "spur," the guns in which were on a level with the water and commanded the entrance to the Sound. The people having as yet no bread but biscuits, which were wanted for the boats' crews, he had an oven built, and bought off the remaining time of a baker's apprentice, who in exchange for flour returned the same weight in soft bread. He also encouraged the Indians to bring in venison, which he distributed, in lieu of salt meat, as far as it would go, to the sick, first; then to women and children, and lastly to the strong young men; and whenever venison failed, poultry, hogs, or sheep were killed for the use of the invalids. Live stock was sent from Savannah, whence likewise boats frequently arrived with volunteers who offered their services to the Governor, in

* 'An Extract from the Journal of the Rev. John Wesley,' London, 1737. No. 1, vol. i. p. 31.

consequence of their apprehensions for the safety of the settlement; insomuch that he was forced to send positive orders to the magistrates to prevent those who had plantations from quitting them, lest they should lose their next harvest.

Oglethorpe's forethought was extended to the most trifling matters; he thought nothing beneath his attention. A flock of sheep which he had purchased in Carolina having arrived, he immediately ordered a pen to be prepared in which to confine them until they should become familiar with the place; but the men to whom he committed the charge of them, fancying they could be managed as easily as English sheep, spared themselves the trouble of constructing the pen. The consequence was that soon after the flock was landed the men ran to the Governor complaining that these were not sheep but devils, for they had all scampered off like wild bucks into the woods. Oglethorpe, taking some Indians with him, instantly went in pursuit, and after much trouble brought most of them back. This experience having convinced the settlers that he knew more about the nature of the country and of the cattle than they did, made them afterwards more attentive to his directions.

On another occasion he gave them a more important lesson. The men being tired of mounting guard, in order to make them more alert, he one day, on his return from inspecting the works upon the coast, rowed up the branch of a stream which he had noticed, and landed with his crew. Under the shelter of a wood, which was afterwards cut down, they approached close

to the town without being discovered, and surprised the sentry who rapidly retreated, shouting that the enemy had landed. Oglethorpe's party then fired a volley and raised the Spanish cry, which spread general consternation and made every soul fly to the fort, where they remained until they learned that the alarm was only a contrivance of their Governor's to test their vigilance.

On the 13th of April Oglethorpe dispatched Major Richards and Mr. Horton with his reply to the Captain-General of Florida. They went in the marine boat accompanied by a periagua, provisioned for three months. Oglethorpe acquainted his Excellency that being very desirous of removing every cause of uneasiness, he had sent down armed boats to patrol the river separating the British and Spanish territories, in order to hinder lawless persons from creating any disturbance between the subjects of the two crowns; and, thanking him for former civilities, he added that in compliance with his Excellency's desire he had again sent Major Richards with another English gentleman to visit him.

Oglethorpe, notwithstanding his placid and dignified demeanour, had much reason for mental disquietude. Should the Spaniards now boldly attack him, he was comparatively helpless. While he had not a single regular soldier under his command, he had learned by private advices from St. Augustine that the garrison there comprised three hundred foot and fifty horse, besides militia, and that reinforcements were daily expected from Havannah. He had likewise been in-

formed that a large detachment had recently marched out of the town; and, about the same time he received from Mr. Dempsey, who still remained in Florida, a letter written by order of the Governor, complaining that the Indians had fallen upon the Spanish post at Picolata, from which it was concluded that they were secretly countenanced by the English. On receipt of these advices he sent off an express to hasten the Independent Company whose assistance the Assembly of Carolina had long promised him, and also forwarded another messenger for the 'Hawk' sloop-of-war at Savannah, where she had lately arrived, and was repairing the damage she received on her passage, during which she encountered several storms and had been nearly wrecked. At length Ensign Delegal with a small detachment of the Carolina Company arrived. Oglethorpe, fearing to lose a moment's time, would not allow them to land at Frederica; but, sending refreshments on board, went with them himself to the east point of the island, and posted them there. Having determined to erect a fort on the point, which extended a considerable distance into the sea and commanded the entrance of Jekyll Sound, he ordered a well to be dug, and, after finding a good supply of fresh water, he returned to Frederica.

On the 16th, a messenger arrived from St. Andrew's with intelligence that strange ships had been seen out at sea, and Ensign Delegal reported that on the same day he heard several guns. These alarms caused Oglethorpe to fear that the 'Hawk' had been intercepted on her way from Savannah. He therefore recalled

several parties of Indians from the mainland, and, ordering them to keep in the woods near the town, set every white man to work upon the defences. Having completed a forge within the fort, formed a magazine beneath one of the bastions, laid in a stock of provisions, and secured all his works, he resolved, at every hazard, to go with an armed boat to St. Andrew's and learn for himself the exact state of affairs at the south. Before his departure, on the morning of the 24th, he sent for his secretary, who gives the following graphic account of their interview and reconciliation:—

"'Mr. Wesley,' began Oglethorpe, 'you know what has passed between us. I took some pains to satisfy your brother about the reports concerning me, but in vain. He here renews his suspicion in writing. I did desire to convince him, because I have an esteem for him, and he is just so considerable to me as my esteem makes him. I could clear up all, but it matters not. You will soon see the reasons for my actions. I am now going to death. You will see me no more. Take this ring, and carry it from me to Mr. V——.* If there is a friend to be depended upon, he is one. His interest is next to Sir Robert's. Whatever you ask, within his power, he will do for you, your brother, and your family. I have expected death for some days. These letters show that the Spaniards have long been seducing our allies, and intend to cut us off at a blow. I fall by my friends—Gascoigne, whom I have made,†

* Probably Mr. Vernon, who was one of the Trustees.

† The Commander of the 'Hawk,' who obtained a plantation in the neighbourhood of Frederica.

the Carolina people whom I depended upon to send their promised succours. But death is to me nothing. T——* will pursue all my designs, and to him I recommend them and you.' He then gave me a diamond ring; I took it, and said :—'If, as I believe,

"Postremum fato, quod te alloquor, hoc est,"

hear what you will quickly know to be true, as soon as you are entered upon a separate state. This ring I shall never make any use of for myself. I have no worldly hopes. I have renounced the world. Life is bitterness to me. I came hither to lay it down. You have been deceived, as well as I. I protest my innocence of the crimes I am charged with, and take myself to be now at liberty to tell you what I thought I should never have uttered.' . . . †

"When I finished this relation he seemed entirely changed; full of his old love and confidence in me. After some expressions of kindness, I asked him, 'Are you satisfied?' He replied, 'Yes, entirely.'—'Why, then, Sir, I desire nothing more upon earth, and care not how soon I follow you.' He added, he much desired the conversion of the heathen, and believed my brother intended for it. 'But I believe,' said I, 'it will never be under your patronage, for then men would account for it without taking in God.' He replied, 'I believe so too;' then embraced and kissed me with the most cordial affection.

* "Most probably Mr. Towers, one of the Trustees."

† Here follow in the MS. some lines in cypher.—Editor of 'The Journal, etc., of the Rev. Charles Wesley.' (London, 1849.)

"I attended him to the scout-boat, where he waited some minutes for his sword. They brought him first, and a second time, a mourning sword. At last they gave him his own, which had been his father's. 'With this sword,' said he, 'I was never yet unsuccessful.' —'I hope, Sir,' said I, 'you carry with you a better, even the sword of the Lord and of Gideon.'—'I hope so too,' he added. When the boat put off, I ran before into the woods, to see my last of him. Seeing me and two others running after him, he stopped the boat and asked whether we wanted anything. Captain M'Intosh, left Commander, desired his last orders. I then said, 'God be with you. Go forth, *Christo duce, et auspice Christo!*'—'You have,' says he, 'I think, some verses of mine. You there see my thoughts of success.' His last word to his people was, 'God bless you all!' The boat then carried him out of sight. I interceded for him, that God would save him from death, would wash out all his sins, and prepare, before he took, the sacrifice to himself." *

* 'Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley,' vol. i. pp. 19–20.

CHAPTER IX.

APRIL—DECEMBER, 1736.

During the night after Oglethorpe's departure the people of Frederica were alarmed by perceiving two fires, one on each side of the town, not knowing whether they were made by friends or enemies; and early in the morning of the next day, which happened to be Easter Sunday, the announcement that several boats were coming up the Sound filled every soul with consternation, though none but Wesley and Captain M'Intosh were fully apprised of their danger. The boats, however, were manned by a number of volunteers from Savannah, where reports had been received from Charlestown that Frederica had been taken by the Spaniards, and that Oglethorpe was killed. That night the Captain ordered the watch to be doubled, but the men being unwilling to comply, Wesley was forced to tell Mr. Hird, the Chief Constable, that there might be a necessity for the precaution which the officer in command alone knew of. Hird consequently promised obedience for himself and the rest.

On their way to St. Andrew's, Oglethorpe and his crew encountered a violent gale and thunderstorm, and were compelled to seek shelter amongst oyster-banks off Jekyll Island, where they rode out part of the night. Seeing a fire on that island, notwithstanding the tempest, they rowed across the Sound, and, though the distance was but three miles, it was with much difficulty they reached the shore by nine o'clock next morning. Entering a creek which carried them up to the heart of the island, they came to a field which had been cleared by the Indians. Here they found the remains of the fire, and Oglethorpe noticing the foot-prints of a man, followed them till he lost the track. He then went on to St. Andrew's, where he ordered a ravelin to be added to the fort and a palisade to be made round the base of the hill; and sent Captain Ferguson with a scout-boat to the assistance of Hermsdorf at Fort St. George. At St. Andrew's, several sail having been seen out at sea, Oglethorpe set out on his return to St. Simon's, but was again obliged by stress of weather to put into Jekyll.

On the morning of the 29th, he landed at Frederica, and Charles Wesley, who had gone to the bluff to watch the boat coming up, blessed God for still holding his soul in life. In the evening they took a walk together, when Oglethorpe informed him more particularly of their past danger. Three great ships and four smaller had been seen for three weeks at the entrance to the Sound, but the wind continuing against them, they were kept from making a descent till they could stay no longer. Wesley gave him back his ring, say-

ing, "I need not, Sir, and indeed I cannot tell you how joyfully and thankfully I return this."—"When I gave it you," replied Oglethorpe, "I never expected to receive it again, but thought it would be of service to your brother and you. I had many omens of my death, particularly their bringing me my mourning sword; but God has been pleased to preserve a life which was never valuable to me, and yet, in the continuance of it, I thank God, I can rejoice."—"I am now glad," rejoined Charles, "of all that has happened here, since without it I could never have had such a proof of your affection as that you gave me when you looked upon me as the most ungrateful of villains." While Wesley was speaking, Oglethorpe appeared full of tenderness, and passed on to observe the strangeness of his deliverance, when without human support, and utterly defenceless. He then condemned himself for his anger, which he imputed to his want of time for consideration. "I longed, Sir," continued Charles, "to see you once more, that I might tell you some things before we finally parted; but then I considered that if you died you would know them all in a moment." On which Oglethorpe remarked, "I know not whether separate spirits regard our little concerns. If they do, it is as men regard the follies of their childhood, or as I my late passionateness."* They had another conversation

* By way of comment upon this admirable sentiment, which is as accordant with the spirit of Christianity as it is truly philosophical, the Rev. Henry Moore asks:—"Could these words be uttered by any man of understanding who believed in the Christian Revelation?" ('Lives of the Wesleys,' vol. i. p. 281.) Surely the force of sectarian bigotry could no further go.

next morning before the Governor had left his bed. "He ordered me," writes Wesley, "whatever he could think I wanted; promised to have me a house built immediately; and was just the same to me he had formerly been." The people soon found out that the Secretary was restored to favour, which he perceived by their provoking civilities.

Oglethorpe, immediately after his return from St. Andrews, dispatched an armed boat to Cumberland in order to ascertain whether any strange vessels attempted to come in there; and also sent Mr. Tanner to watch from Jekyll Island, and send notice of the approach of shipping. Meanwhile he himself remained at Frederica, and adopted the best measures he could for the security of that place. Mr. Tanner returned next day, saying that a large two-masted vessel lay off the island, but he feared to approach close enough to discover what she was. Fortunately she proved to be the 'Hawk' sloop-of-war; and, at noon on the 1st of May, Captain Gascoigne carried her over the bar, and cast anchor below the town.

Late in the evening of the same day the scout-boat 'Caroline,' commanded by Captain Ferguson, returned to Frederica from Point St. George; and reports soon circulated among the people that Major Richards and Mr. Horton, who had been sent with a flag of truce to the Spanish Governor, were put under arrest and detained as prisoners of war at St. Augustine. It was likewise rumoured that Captain Hermsdorf's men expecting every moment that their outpost would be attacked, had compelled him to abandon it and retire to

St. Andrew's. Mr. Oglethorpe therefore sent for Ferguson to his tent, and having inquired particularly into the state of affairs, spent the rest of the night in writing letters, making suitable arrangements, and dispatching messengers for such assistance as he thought might be procured.

Next morning he called the people together and informed them that Major Richards, on reaching St. George's, had sent over to the Spanish side of the river St. John to announce his arrival, but neither men nor horses were at the look-out to conduct him, as had been promised. As the Major was anxious to keep his engagement to return to St. Augustine within three weeks, and a voyage in open boats from the mouth of the river to the town being too dangerous to be attempted, Mr. Horton offered to walk thither and give notice to the Governor that Major Richards had arrived with letters from Mr. Oglethorpe. He landed accordingly, and accompanied by two servants, set out for St. Augustine. A few days afterwards, the signal agreed upon (two smokes) having been made on the Florida shore, Major Richards sent over the marine-boat which brought back word that a guard and horses were ready to conduct him to St. Augustine, but that the Spaniards looked and behaved more like enemies than friends; insomuch that his companions advised him not to proceed unless some security were left for his safety. The Major, however, resolved to go on, and having landed, was immediately carried away. Nothing was heard of him for some days, when Captain Hermsdorf received a pencilled note from him saying

that he had got safely to the quarters of the Captain of Horse. From this Hermsdorf concluded that the Major was kept prisoner there, and, knowing that the communication would pass through Spanish hands, dared not write more plainly.

Oglethorpe having informed the people of these facts, told them that he had made preparations to set out himself immediately for the south, in order to put things right; and that they had nothing to fear during his absence, for the sloop-of-war now in the Sound, and the detachment of the Independent Company at the sea-point were sufficient to prevent an enemy from landing; and even should these defences fail, their fort was in good condition, and fully provisioned for eight months; therefore they had only to be vigilant against surprises. The people replied that they were under no apprehensions and were willing to die in defence of the place, but regretted that he should be so much exposed to danger on their behalf. Having entrusted the command of the fort to Mr. M'Intosh, a gentleman who had served for many years in the royal army, and directed Mr. Ausperger as Engineer to instruct the men in their military duty, at eight o'clock on the morning of the 2nd he started in the 'Georgia' scout-boat, and proceeded to the sloop-of-war, where he was joined by her yawl under the conduct of Lieutenant Moore.

They arrived that night at St. Andrew's, and on Monday the 3rd, reached the south point of Cumberland, where they met Captain Hermsdorf with the men who had forsaken their post. The wind being fair, Oglethorpe ordered them to follow him out to sea, and

took them round Amelia Island. Upon investigating the matter he found that they did not mean to mutiny, as had been reported, the panic having arisen from the lies of one man whom he sentenced to run the gantlope. He therefore conducted them back to Point St. George, within sight of the Florida shore, and re-established them in the place they had previously occupied, where they arrived at noon on the 5th; and he immediately set them to work, repairing and palisading the breaches made by time in the old fort built by Sir Francis Drake, and clearing the ditches, which were originally thirty feet deep.

Oglethorpe, leaving the periagua and marine-boat with Hermsdorf, set out in the afternoon for the Spanish side, with the scout-boat and the yawl carrying a white flag. They rowed towards a palmetto hut, within a musket shot of which, leaving the boats at their grapplings, he alone jumped ashore; and, after climbing a sand hill to look whether any persons were within view, perceiving none but seeing two horses hobbled at a little distance, he ordered Mr. Tanner with four active lads to land and follow him. Having well examined the country, they passed through a small wood to the edge of an open savannah; where Oglethorpe ascended a height from which he could see his boats, and sent forward one of his boys to fix a flag in the centre of the plain, hoping thereby to draw people to a conference. Soon afterwards he noticed his servant, a youth named Frazer, issuing from the wood, driving before him a tall man with a musket on his shoulder, a long sword and a short sword by his

side, and two pistols stuck in his girdle; and, approaching his master, "Here, Sir," cried the young Scot, "is a Spaniard I have caught for you." The soldier handed Mr. Oglethorpe two letters, one from Major Richards, the other from Mr. Horton, both addressed to Captain Hermsdorf and acquainting him that they would be back in two days' time. Oglethorpe gave him a bottle of wine, food, tobacco, and a moidore for his trouble in bringing the letters, and inquired where the English gentlemen were. The Spaniard replied that he knew nothing of them; that he was a horseman, and was sent by the Colonel of Cavalry from the head-quarters, about twelve leagues off, with orders to carry the letters and wait until he should see an English boat to deliver them. Mr. Oglethorpe then gave him a letter for the Governor of St. Augustine, and saying that he would come again in two days for an answer, returned to Fort George.

After nightfall, Oglethorpe, having discovered several fires on the Florida main, concluded—correctly enough, as will appear—that troops had come down; and therefore, in order to make them delay attacking him until a reinforcement he expected on the following morning should arrive, he had two carriage-guns and two swivel guns, which he had brought down with him, carried into the woods, that the Spaniards might not distinguish whence they were fired. He ordered the swivels to be recharged so often as to make a salute of seven, and the carriage-guns to fire five shots by way of answer. The small guns from the faintness of their report seemed like those of a distant ship saluting,

while the others resembled those of a battery answering from the shore. Meanwhile, his men lay under arms, and a strict watch was kept, the seamen having the charge of the lower mount and the landsmen of the upper; and sentries were posted every 200 yards near the woods, while Oglethorpe and Hermsdorf kept going the rounds all night. The *ruse* produced a most happy effect, though Oglethorpe then knew not how imminent was the danger which it averted.

He subsequently learned that while he was getting recruits and cannon down from Frederica, the Governor of St. Augustine, having put his messengers under arrest, sent Don Ignatio Rosso, Colonel of Foot with thirty picked men, some Yamasee Indians, and a strong boat's crew in a launch carrying four guns, to reconnoitre St. Simon's; and if he found the settlement there so weak as advices from South Carolina had stated, to dislodge the English. Don Ignatio, however, while attempting to get into Jekyll Sound, was discovered from the Sea-point by Ensign Delegal, who fired his battery upon the launch, and the Spaniards also perceiving the 'Hawk' in the Sound, ran out to sea with great precipitation. They afterwards tried to enter at another inlet by the island of Cumberland, where, being challenged by the Scotch garrison of St. Andrew's, they rowed away in such haste that the same night they reached their out-guards on the river St. John, nearly sixty miles distant. Don Ignatio having landed held a conference with Don Pedro de Lamberto, the Commander of the Spanish cavalry who had come by land to the look-out with 160 foot and 50 horse.

They concluded from the two forts that had been seen and the situation of the sloop-of-war that all our strength lay at St. Simon's, and that therefore the force at St. George must be weak. Consequently they determined to surprise some of our boats and upon their intelligence leave their horses, carry over their men by water, and attack the fort of St. George on the following night; but, owing to Oglethorpe's stratagem they feared to make the attempt, for, from the number of guns they heard, they concluded that succour had arrived.

Next day, Don Ignatio thought proper to make the best of his way to St. Augustine with his launch. There the soldiers and boatmen, fatigued with overwork, spread such dismal reports, magnifying the strength and diligence of the English in order to preserve their own reputation, that they created a general uproar among the people. That night Oglethorpe had several fires made in the woods, some at two, and some at three miles' distance from Point St. George. From these the Spaniards imagined that the Creek Indians had come to his assistance, therefore the horse and foot, under the command of Don Pedro, finding themselves abandoned by the launch, likewise retired to St. Augustine, leaving a guard of horse to observe Oglethorpe's movements. Their arrival increased the confusion of the people, who apprehended that if the Indians should cut off their communication by land, as the sloop-of-war might do by sea, they should perish by famine. The Governor was at length obliged to call a council of war, in which it was eventually decided

that Major Richards and Mr. Horton should be released and sent back in the most honourable manner, accompanied by an officer of rank to treat with Mr. Oglethorpe, and request him to restrain his Indian allies from invading Florida.

Meanwhile Oglethorpe, being ignorant of the proceedings of the Spaniards, except that their troops had retired, again repaired to the other side of the river, hoping to meet the soldier according to his appointment; but, instead of the expected messenger, he discovered a *guarda-costa* full of men, lying behind a sandbank beyond the breakers, on the English side of the water, and soon afterwards he espied several men hid in the woods. Two horsemen then showed themselves, and beckoned to the boats to come down to a point, beyond which the strange vessel lay concealed; whereupon Oglethorpe rowed with his two boats toward her, so that she might not intercept him from his people on Point St. George. He had but twenty-four men in his boats, while there seemed to be about seventy on board the *guarda-costa*, which lay still for some time, but when it was evident that she had been discovered, she made directly out to sea in the direction of St. Augustine.

Oglethorpe then returned to the horsemen, who appeared to be very unwilling to approach the boats, but at last consented to receive a letter if he would send an unarmed man ashore. One of them, seemingly an officer, forbade the English to land on the King of Spain's ground. Oglethorpe answered that the English would forbear landing upon it, since the

Spaniards so desired; but that the Spaniards were very welcome to land upon the King of England's ground on the opposite side of the river, and should also be welcome to a glass of wine with himself there. When he asked for news of Richards and Horton, and whether he might send anything to them, the man said he knew nothing of them, and that, as he received his orders from the colonel of horse, he could carry nothing but to him. Upon this Mr. Moore, the Lieutenant of the 'Hawk,' wrote a letter to the colonel, informing him that he had come to carry home the gentleman whom Mr. Oglethorpe had sent to treat with the Governor of St. Augustine; and, if at any time three fires were made upon the shore as a signal that they had arrived, he would come again to fetch them away. The Spanish officer promised to deliver the letter that evening to his colonel, and the English party returned to Fort St. George.

Oglethorpe, thinking it well to check the career of the Spaniards as near their own territory as possible, resolved to make a great push at that place, since the command of the Point might prevent them from proceeding to attack any of the more distant Georgian settlements. Fresh men with more guns had come down during his absence, and he immediately set all hands to work—his own as well as others—mounting cannon upon the batteries along the river, and strengthening the fortifications. He remained there until Sunday the 9th, when, leaving Captain Hermsdorf in charge of the fort, also a periagua and two other armed boats, he set out with all speed for St. Simon's.

By three o'clock next morning he reached Frederica, where he found the chief of the Uchees, who, in addition to thirty men he had brought with him, promised one hundred more. Tomo Chichi was also there with his followers, and intelligence that hundreds of the Creeks eagerly desired to fall upon the Spaniards. In the evening Oglethorpe wrote several letters on the situation of affairs: one to the Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina, requesting him to hinder the exportation of arms from Charleston, and another to Mr. Eveleigh, a public-spirited merchant, saying that, if the Governor and Council could not prevent the exportation of arms and ammunition, he should buy up what were in the town, and thereby prevent the Spaniards from getting them. He likewise wrote to the Governor of New York to similar effect.* Near midnight of the 11th, Charles Wesley took leave of Mr. Oglethorpe, who had deputed him to grant licences to the Indian traders; and next day Wesley set out for Savannah, having previously recorded in his journal—"I was overjoyed at my deliverance out of this furnace, and not a little ashamed of myself for being so."

On the same day Oglethorpe, accompanied by Tomo Chichi and his Indians in their canoes, again started with a large periagua and two ten-oared boats, containing fifty men, cannon, and two months' provisions, to relieve Fort St. George, which he feared might by that time be besieged. On his way he met a boat in which was Mr. Horton, who, having been released, was

* Francis Moore's Journal, p. 97. Moore, it appears, assisted Charles Wesley in his duty as Secretary.

returning homewards. Oglethorpe had no time then to inquire into the particulars of Richards and Horton's captivity;* but learned from the latter that two Spanish officers were coming on a friendly mission to St. Simon's, and therefore sent him on with orders for Captain Gascoigne to entertain the strangers on board the 'Hawk,' so that they might not be able to gain information of the strength or situation of Frederica. Oglethorpe had arrived within a few miles of his destination, when he perceived the launch containing the Spanish commissioners, Don Pedro de Lamberto, Colonel of Horse, and Don Manuel D'Arcy, Secretary to the Governor, and also Mr. Dempsey and Major Richards. Wishing to avoid the ceremony that must have passed if he presented himself, and which would have hindered his going on to St. George's, he desired Mr. Mackay to speak to them, and advise them to anchor until a safeguard should be sent them, the country being full of Indians. Fortunately Oglethorpe was an hour ahead of his party; for had the Creeks been foremost, they would certainly have attacked the Spaniards, and he could hardly prevent them from doing so by sending an armed boat to escort the launch to Jekyll Sound. Meanwhile he went on to the fort, where he spent three days, not only in giving directions, but in working with his own hands.

He returned to St. Simon's on the 17th; when, having to pass the sloop-of-war in which were the Spaniards, he made signals that he should not be recognised. As soon as he reached Frederica he sent up

* See Appendix III.

to Darien for some of the most martial-looking Highlanders; and, having ordered marquees and handsome tents lined with chintz to be pitched on Jekyll Island,* he dispatched two gentlemen to acquaint the Commissioners that he would wait upon them next day. Accordingly, on the following morning he proceeded to the Sea-point; and, in order to let the Spanish officers know that he had cavalry as well as they, he brought down seven horses—all that he had—on which were mounted as many men. Then, taking boat, he went on board the 'Hawk,' whose sailors manned the shrouds, while her marines, with bayonets fixed, lined one side of the deck, and the Highlanders, with drawn broad-swords, lined the other. Oglethorpe, after welcoming the Commissioners, informed them that the tents on Jekyll Island were at their service during their stay; and, having invited them to dine and hold a conference with him next day on board his Majesty's sloop-of-war, he retired, and they were conducted to the encampment. On the 19th, therefore, he received them aboard with all possible ceremony. The subsequent proceedings, as related by himself in a letter to the Trustees, were as follows :—

"After dinner we drank the King of Britain's and the King of Spain's health, under a discharge of cannon from the ships; which was answered with fifteen pieces of cannon from Delegal's fort, at the Sea-point. That again was followed by the cannon from the fort

* Our authority says, "He ordered two handsome tents to be lined with *Chinese*, with *Marquises* and walls of canvas, etc." (Francis Moore's Journal, p. 104.)

of St. Andrew's, and that by those of Frederica and Darien, as I had before ordered. The Spaniards seemed extremely surprised that there should be so many forts, and all within hearing of one another. Don Pedro smiled, and said, 'No wonder Don Ignatio made more haste home than out.' After the healths were done, a great number of Indians came on board, naked, painted, and their heads dressed with feathers. They demanded of me justice against the Spaniards, for killing some of their men in time of peace.* . . . Don Pedro, having asked several questions, acknowledged himself fully satisfied of the fact, excusing it by saying he was then in Mexico, and that the Governor, being newly come from Spain and not knowing the customs of the country, had sent out Indians under the command of the Pohoia, King of the Floridas, who had exceeded his orders, which were not to molest the Creeks. But the Indians, not being content with that answer, he undertook that, at his return to Augustine, he would have the Pohoia king put to death, if he could be taken, and if he could not, that the Spaniards would supply his people with neither powder, arms, nor anything else, but leave them to the Creeks. The Indians answered that he spake well, and if the Spaniards did what he said, all should be white between them; but if not, they would take revenge, from which, at my desire, they would abstain, till a final answer came.

"The Indian matters being thus settled, we had a

* Here follow details of revolting atrocities with which it is unnecessary to shock the reader.

conference with the Spanish Commissioners. They thanked me first for my restraining the Indians who were in my power, and hoped I would extend that care to the upper Indians. They then, after having produced their credentials, presented a paper the contents whereof were to know by what title I settled upon St. Simon's, being lands belonging to the King of Spain. I took the paper, promising an answer next day. The substance was, that the lands belonged to the King of England by undoubted right; that I had proceeded with the utmost caution, having taken with me Indians, the natives and possessors of those lands; that I had examined every place to see if there were any Spanish possessions, and went forward till I found an outguard of theirs, over against which I settled the English, without committing any hostilities or dislodging any. Therefore I did not extend the King's dominions, but only settled with regular garrisons that part of them which was before a shelter for Indians, pirates, and such sort of disorderly men.*

"The rest of the evening we spent in conversation, which chiefly turned upon the convenience it would be, both to the Spaniards and English, to have regular garrisons in sight of each other. Don Pedro smiled, and said he readily agreed to that, and should like very

* At the time of the Peace of Utrecht, the territory as far south as the river St. John's was in the possession of the Indian allies of Great Britain; and the Spaniards never attempted to settle within it. By the terms of that treaty, all possessions in North America were declared to belong to the then occupiers; and as the Indians continued to occupy the disputed district and acknowledged themselves subject to the King of England, by their cession it had become his.

well to have their Spanish guard upon the south side of Helena river, which is within five miles of Charlestown and where the Spaniards had a garrison in King Charles the First's time. I replied, I thought it was better as it was; for there were a great many people living between who could never be persuaded to come in to his sentiments. At last Don Pedro acquainted me that he thought the Spaniards would refer the settling of the limits to the Courts of Europe, for which purpose he should write to their Court, and in the meantime desired no hostilities might be committed, and that I would send up a commissary to sign with the government an agreement to this purpose. I thereupon appointed Mr. Dempsey to be my commissary, and to return with them. Don Pedro is the ruling man in Augustine, and has more interest with the Council of War than the Governor. As he passed by St. George's Point, he sent a whole ox as a present to the garrison. He gave me some sweetmeats and chocolate. I gave him a gold watch, a gun, and fresh provisions. To Don Manuel I gave a silver watch, and sent back a boat to escort them. If the Spaniards had committed any hostilities, I could, by the help of the Indians, have destroyed Augustine with great facility. But God be praised, by His blessing, the diligence of Dempsey, and the prudence of Don Pedro, all bloodshed was avoided."

After the departure of the Spanish Commissioners, Mr. Oglethorpe found it necessary to visit Savannah, where he arrived on the 28th of May, and was soon overwhelmed with charges which were brought against the

magistrates of that town. At noon, on the 31st, he sent the Wesleys word that he was going to Court. They attended, and heard his speech to the people, in the close of which he said, "If any one here has been abused or oppressed by any man, in or out of employment, he has free and full liberty of complaining. Let him deliver in his complaints in writing, at my house. I will read all over myself, and do every particular man justice." That evening, when Charles Wesley waited on the Governor, he found the three magistrates, who seemed much alarmed by the speech. "He dismissed them," adds Wesley, "and told me he feared his following my brother's advice, in hearing all complaints, would ruin the people, and he should never have any to serve him. I replied I thought the contrary, and that such liberty was the happiest thing that could happen the colony; and much to be desired by all good men."

A few days afterwards, Charles was again in Court and heard several accusations against Mr. Causton, the chief storekeeper, and one of the magistrates, who stood by while Parker, the first tribune of the people, on whom the malcontents had built all their hopes, brought the heaviest charges that could be laid against him. But they were so incredible, trifling, and childish, that Wesley thought them a full vindication of the magistrates, and admired Mr. Oglethorpe's patience in hearing them. Until the 16th of June the Secretary spent the evenings writing letters for the Governor. They seldom parted till midnight; and that night, at half-past twelve, the latter set out in the scout-boat

for Frederica. He returned to Savannah on the 26th; and on the 1st of July gave audience to a deputation of Creek Indians. On the 22nd, Charles Wesley briefly notes in his journal, "I heard from my brother that I was to sail in a few days for England;" but on Sunday the 25th, he more explicitly records:—

"I resigned my Secretary's place, in a letter to Mr. Oglethorpe. After prayers he took me aside and asked me whether all I had said was not summed up in the line he showed me on my letter:—

> "'Magis apta tuis tua dona relinquo,'—
>
> "'Sir, to yourself your slighted gifts I leave,
> Less fit for me to take, than you to give.'

I answered, I desired not to lose his esteem, but could not preserve it with the loss of my soul. He answered, he was satisfied of my regard for him; owned my argument drawn from the heart irresistible; 'and yet,' said he, 'I would you not to let the Trustees know your resolution of resigning. There are many hungry fellows ready to catch at the office, and in my absence I cannot put in one of my own choosing. The best I can hope for is an honest Presbyterian, as many of the Trustees are such. Perhaps they may send me a bad man; and how far such a one may influence the traders and obstruct the reception of the Gospel among the heathen, you know. I shall be in England before you leave it. Then you may either put in a deputy or resign. You need not be detained in London above three days; and only speak to some of my particular friends (Vernon, Hutchinson, and Towers), to the

Board of Trustees when called upon, and the Board of Trade. On many accounts I should recommend to you marriage, rather than celibacy. You are of a social temper, and would find in a married state the difficulties of working out your salvation exceedingly lessened, and your helps as much increased.' "*

In charge of Oglethorpe's dispatches to the Government, the Trustees, and the Board of Trade, Charles Wesley next day bade adieu to Savannah. He was accompanied by his brother as far as Charlestown, where he embarked; and, after a tedious and dangerous voyage, at last, on the 4th of December, reached London in safety.

On the 2nd of August, Oglethorpe held a conference at Savannah, with a Committee of the South Carolina House of Assembly, respecting the Indian trade. The result will appear further on. Towards the end of September he renewed the commission of Mr. Charles Dempsey, authorizing him to propose terms to the Governor of St. Augustine for a conventional settlement of the disputes between the neighbouring provinces of England and Spain; and a treaty, much more conciliatory on the part of the latter than Oglethorpe anticipated, was concluded on the 27th of October. However, it proved abortive; for the harmony which it seemed to confirm was soon afterwards disturbed by a message from Florida acquainting Oglethorpe that a Spanish envoy had arrived from Cuba, charged with a communication which he desired to deliver in person. Suffice it to say, that at the conference which ensued,

* Journal, etc., of the Rev. Charles Wesley, vol. i. p. 35.

the Commissioner peremptorily required Oglethorpe and his people immediately to evacuate all the territory south of St. Helena's Sound, as it belonged to the King of Spain, who was determined to vindicate his rights. He would neither listen to any arguments in support of England's claim, nor admit the validity of the treaty which had just been signed, but repeating his demands, accompanied by menaces, unceremoniously departed.

Oglethorpe now perceiving that the most vigorous measures, and a much stronger force than the colony could furnish, would be requisite for its preservation, resolved personally to represent the state of affairs to the British Ministry. He was also urged by his brother Trustees to return. Mr. Verelst, their Secretary, had written to him on the 22nd of October:—"The Earl of Egmont, Mr. Vernon, and Mr. Thomas Towers give their service to you, and they with the rest of the Trustees have directed me to renew their desire for your presence in England as early as may be, for the approaching session of Parliament, which is expected to meet about the middle of January next; for without your presence they have no manner of hopes of any further supply, and then Georgia will be in a melancholy state."* Mr. Oglethorpe, therefore, having made the best arrangements he could for the defence and local government of the province, on the 29th of November again embarked for England.

* Georgia Papers; Record Office.

CHAPTER X.

JANUARY, 1737—JULY, 1738.

On the 7th of January, 1737, Charles Wesley, who was still in London, notes in his Journal:—"The news was brought of Mr. Oglethorpe's arrival. The next day I waited on him and received a relation of his wonderful deliverance in the Bristol Channel; he talked admirably of resignation, and of the impossibility of dying when it is not best." At a special meeting of the Trustees, on the 19th, Oglethorpe was voted their unanimous thanks for his past services; and he informed them verbally of the rapid progress of the colony, in spite of many impediments. He told them of the prosperity and remarkable extension of Savannah; that besides Ebenezer, Darien, and Frederica, other settlements had been founded, including Augusta, a post for Indian traffic opened in the interior,* and that the native tribes to a distance of 700 miles ac-

* Augusta, situated at the head of navigation on the river, 120 miles N.N.W. of Savannah, subsequently became a large and handsome city.

knowledged the King's authority, while several independent English gentlemen had established themselves as planters in various parts of the province. He added, however, that, notwithstanding these auspicious circumstances, the people on the frontiers suffered under constant apprehension of invasion, as the insolent demands and threats of the Spanish Commissioner from Cuba virtually amounted to an infraction of the treaty which had been formed with the Governor of Florida; and he concluded by urging the necessity of applying to His Majesty for a military force adequate to the defence of Georgia and South Carolina.

A newspaper of the day, reviewing Oglethorpe's speech, says in reference to his closing suggestion :— "Now the jealousy of the Spanish is excited, and we are told that that Court has the modesty to demand from England that he shall not be any longer employed. If this be the fact, and there is no doubt of it, we have a most undeniable proof that the Spaniards dread the ability of Mr. Oglethorpe. It is of course a glorious testimony of his merit, and a certificate of his patriotism that ought to endear him to every honest Briton."* These remarks were occasioned by a memorial of the Spanish Ambassador at the British Court, in which he insisted that troops should not be sent to Georgia, and protested against Oglethorpe's return.

At the same time intelligence reached England that the Captain-General of Florida had ordered the English merchants to quit St. Augustine, and was pre-

* The 'London Daily Post,' cited in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. vii. p. 500.

paring barracks for a large embarkation of troops daily expected from Havannah. In consequence of these and other hostile indications of which the Trustees were apprised, they petitioned the King that a corps might be raised for the protection of Georgia. Their request was readily granted; and his Majesty, having in June appointed Oglethorpe General of all his forces in Carolina as well as in Georgia, commissioned him to raise a regiment.

It is now necessary to revert to a subject which caused Oglethorpe much greater vexation than could any menaces of a foreign enemy. It will be recollected that in July of the previous year, he transmitted, by Charles Wesley, dispatches to the Board of Trade; and it has been mentioned that he soon afterwards held a conference at Savannah with a committee of the South Carolina General Assembly respecting the Indian traffic, which they had charged him with attempting to monopolize. The conference was attended with no satisfactory result, and shortly after Oglethorpe's return to England the topic was argued by counsel before the Commissioners of Trade. But let us first briefly trace the origin and nature of the dispute.

When the territory of Georgia became a separate province, it included in its bounds those Indians southwest of the river Savannah, who had previously traded with Carolina. Oglethorpe was careful to secure their good-will by making treaties of alliance with them; and, as they complained of having been sorely defrauded in their previous dealings with white men, and desired that stipulations should be made respecting the

prices, quality, weight, and measure of the commodities which they bought and sold, the Trustees determined that no persons should be allowed to trade with them without a licence. The Carolina traders refused to apply to the Georgian commissary for permits, or to submit to any restrictions whatever, and consequently that official would not let them remain within his jurisdiction. They therefore complained to their Assembly, which, as has been stated, appointed a committee to confer with Oglethorpe upon the subject. Meanwhile the excitement increased. The would-be free-traders freighted boats with goods to ascend the river to Augusta, but in passing Savannah they were arrested by the magistrates, who ordered the casks of rum which formed a portion of their cargoes to be staved, and sent the crews to prison. The magistrates however subsequently acknowledged their error, and made reparation to those whose property had been destroyed.

The Committee stoutly maintained that no charter from the Crown could give the Governor of Georgia control over the Indians, who always reserved their own independence and had a perfect right to deal with whom they pleased. Oglethorpe acknowledged that the Indians were not bound by English law; but certain regulations had been made not only with their consent, but at their request; and the enforcement of these regulations was no aggression upon the red men's rights. Permits had never been denied to those who conformed to the rules; and the conditions he had imposed were similar to those which Carolina herself had exacted. He directed his officers, he added, to

make no distinction between the traders of the sister provinces; but, for the protection of the aborigines he insisted upon the necessity for licences,—a precautionary measure which he could not abandon. The Committee were by no means satisfied; primarily because permits were still required, but more especially that they must come from the hands of the Governor of Georgia.

Finally the matter came before the Board of Trade, and as Charles Wesley had for a short time been deputed by Oglethorpe to grant traders' licences, he was called upon by the Commissioners for his testimony. On Thursday, the 5th of May, he writes in his Journal —"I met Verelst and counsel at Mr. Oglethorpe's, about the hearing they are shortly to have before the Board of Trade. When they were gone, Mr. Oglethorpe said, if the Government had dropped Georgia, he would not let the poor people perish, but sell his estate, which he could do for £45,000, and support them upon the interest." On the 6th of June Wesley attended before the Board. "Till twelve o'clock," he says, "the Carolina side was heard. Then our counsel (confused enough) was heard for Georgia." On the 8th, he made an affidavit in Chancery Lane, as to what he knew about Georgia, and on the 9th he notes:—"At the Board, part of our charter and acts, etc., were read. I declared upon oath that all the traders' licences were supposed to be within Georgia. After my affidavit was read, Murray made our defence, but so little to Mr. Oglethorpe's satisfaction that he started up, and ran out." Wesley does not mention what

was the judgment of the Trade Commissioners, but it would seem to have been decided that the navigation of the Savannah was to be open alike to both colonies; the Carolinians promised not to introduce ardent spirits among the settlers in Georgia, and the agents of the latter province were instructed to render their neighbours all the friendly assistance in their power. Nevertheless, as Ramsay observes, "the rapacious spirit of individuals could be curbed by no authority."*

A trivial incident, illustrative however, of Charles Wesley's simplicity of character as well as of Oglethorpe's good nature, may be here introduced as a relief to weightier matter. It appears that a Dutch student for the ministry, named Appee, who, by professions of great piety, had ingratiated himself into the good opinion of the unsuspicious missionary, had accompanied him from America, and prevailed upon him to advance the amount of his passage-money. This scoundrel, who had also contrived during the voyage to swindle the captain of the ship, on his arrival in London, endeavoured to foist himself upon Oglethorpe's friends as his confidential agent, and represented that he had been sent by him to take care of and watch over Wesley. But it happened that Captain Corney, while walking one day in the Strand, encountered the sharper, who was delighted to see him, until the indignant sailor upbraided him with his hypocrisy on board, and saying, "On shore, I perceive you are a bite and a scoundrel, and as such I will use you," gave him into custody. Oglethorpe, a few days after his

* 'History of South Carolina,' vol. i. p. 49.

arrival, told Wesley that he had been sent to by Appee, who was in Newgate; and when Charles expressed pity for the wretch, Oglethorpe added:—"I can do nothing for him. He has tied up my hands. If I were to release him it would confirm all his lies. I must leave him where he is." It would seem, notwithstanding, that Oglethorpe relented; for about a fortnight later he told Wesley that Appee, who had been released, desired to meet him at his house next morning. Charles kept the appointment and waited for hours in order to confront him; but no Appee appeared. It was not till after some months that Wesley heard more of his quondam companion, when he was informed by a cutler from whom Appee had just stolen a watch, that he had run away with it to Paris.

In the course of the Parliamentary session Oglethorpe spoke on two or three occasions; and one of his speeches is so characteristic as to justify the insertion of it here. Every schoolboy has read the story of the famous Porteous riot, and knows how an Edinburgh mob, exasperated at the execution of a smuggler who had excited their sympathy, assaulted the hangman and the soldiers; how Captain Porteous, who commanded the city guard, fired upon the crowd and killed several people, for which he was tried and sentenced to death; and how the rioters upon his reprieve broke open the gaol in which he was confined, and hanged him on a dyer's pole.* The Government, by way of retaliation for this remarkable instance of "Lynch-law," afterwards brought in a Bill to annul

* See 'The Heart of Midlothian.'

the charter of Edinburgh, punish the chief Magistrate, and impose further indignities upon the citizens. In spite of the spirited opposition of the Duke of Argyle and a few other Peers, it passed the House of Lords, and was sent down to the Commons. On the 16th of May, 1737, the title having been read, Mr. Oglethorpe protested against the reception of the Bill; because he was of opinion that their Lordships would refuse to receive from them any Bill of pains and penalties affecting a member of their own House; and if the precedent should be established that the House of Peers, for an offence committed by a Commoner, might send down such a Bill to be passed by the Lower House, the independence of the House of Commons must be utterly destroyed. Again, on the 9th of June, with no less good sense than caustic humour, he said :—

"Sir, I never had the happiness to be married, but I have been told, and believe, that marriage is a very happy state. I have often heard the union betwixt us and our neighbouring nation compared to marriage, and I think not improperly, for the happiness of both parties must consist in a mutual harmony and good understanding, which can never be, if the stronger shall pretend to oppress the weaker; and the Scots, Sir, when they entered into this state with us put so absolute a confidence in our honour, that it would be both ungenerous and unjust for us to give them the least cause to repent their bargain. I shall readily own that a most horrid riot and murder happened within the city of Edinburgh, and that there were several obvious measures neglected which might have

prevented it; but I think the punishment intended by the present Bill is far too severe, both with respect to the Lord Provost and the city itself.

"As for the Lord Provost, I am of opinion he did all that could be expected from a man of his age and abilities, and I cannot see any reason why he should be singled out for punishment. And, Sir, as gentlemen have in this affair been pleased to quote Puffendorff and Grotius, I shall beg leave to quote the words of an author whom I am sure most gentlemen in this House have read twice for once that they have read those two authors. The words are in a book which I have in my pocket, and which is called 'Hudibras.'

> "'Though nice and dark the point appear,
> (Quoth Ralph) it may hold up and clear.
> That sinners may supply the place
> Of suffering saints is a plain case;
> Justice gives sentence many times
> On one man for another's crimes.'*

"These lines, Sir, introduce an account of a bed-rid weaver in New England, who was hanged for the murder of an Indian, committed by a preaching cobbler. The Indians, it seems, insisted warmly that the murderer should be hanged; and as they did not know his person, the saints thought it much better to hang up the bed-rid weaver than the offender, who was a useful man among them, by acting in the double capacity of preaching and cobbling. I leave gentlemen to apply this bed-rid weaver's case to the Lord Provost's. I shall only observe, that from what appears

* Hudibras, pt. ii. Canto ii.

by the evidence given at the bar of this House, there were others equally if not more guilty.

"As for the censure inflicted upon the city of Edinburgh by the present Bill, I think there is something in it that is contrary to the intention of the Bill. The intention of the Bill, Sir, as I take it, is to punish the citizens for not suppressing an inhuman riot, and preventing a barbarous murder; but the censure to be inflicted upon them for this, by taking away their guard, plainly puts it out of their power to suppress any such riot for the future. Here is a city, and here are magistrates, liable to be insulted by an outrageous mob, yet we tie up their hands from quelling that mob, and we punish them because it was not quelled. In my opinion, we cannot do a greater piece of service to the authors of Porteous's murder, than to consent that the present Bill shall be passed into a law; for we by it expose both the peace of the city, the authority of the magistrates, and the interest of the country, to all their future insults. In short, Sir, I think the present Bill is neither calculated to punish those who were negligent in suppressing that late riot, nor for preventing the like in time to come; and I could wish that gentlemen would fall upon some other means for answering both these ends."*

Charles Wesley, on his return to England, was, as

* 'Parliamentary History,' vol. x. 308–9. Sir Robert Walpole was compelled to withdraw the most obnoxious clauses of the Bill, which dwindled into an Act disabling Mr. Wilson (the Lord Provost) from holding any future office, and imposing on the city of Edinburgh a fine of £2000 for the benefit of Porteous's widow.—Lord Mahon's 'History of England,' vol. ii. p. 298.

he acknowledges in his journal, very affectionately received by Oglethorpe's friends, especially by three of the Trustees, Messrs. Towers, Hutchinson, and Vernon, to whom he carried letters, and who invited him to make their houses his home while he remained in London. Soon after Oglethorpe's arrival, Charles told him that he was desirous of returning with him to Georgia, if he could be of any use there as a clergyman; but as to the secretaryship, "I begged him," he says, "to let me know how I could lay it down. He bade me think what I did, and when I had well considered the matter he would talk to me farther." Both of the Wesleys, as is generally known, kept minute journals of their Georgian experiences. That of Charles was not published until after his death; but John had not been many months in Georgia when he sent the first "Extract" from his journal to London for publication; and Charles, when he waited on the Trustees at their office to deliver letters, was "put out of all patience" by finding them reading his brother's and Ingham's Journals. On the 20th of January, Charles adds, "Mr. Oglethorpe talked much of the mischief of private journals, *all* of which ought to be published, or never sent. A letter from my brother he read, and argued I could not but think the writer much too free, too bold, and too credulous." The Wesleys by numerous, no doubt well-intentioned but, to say the least, injudicious acts, raised many enemies in Georgia, who did everything in their power to blacken their characters in the eyes of the Governor, while the partisans of the over-zealous missionaries, as

soon as Oglethorpe's back was turned, endeavoured to malign him. This will account for the warmth of feeling expressed in the following paragraph of a letter from John Wesley to Mr. Oglethorpe, dated "Savannah, February the 24th, 1737.

"If, as I shall hope till strong proof appear, your heart was right before God; if it was your real design to promote the glory of God by promoting peace and love among men, let not your heart be troubled; the God whom you serve is able to deliver you. Perhaps in some things you have shown you are but a man; perhaps I myself may have a little to complain of; but what a train of benefits have I received to lay in the balance against it! I bless God that ever you was born. I acknowledge his exceeding mercy in casting me into your hands. I own your generous kindness all the time we were at sea. I am indebted to you for a thousand favours here. Why, then, the least thing I can say is, though all men should revile you, yet, if God strengthen me, so shall not I."

About the very time he wrote as above, John Wesley, to adopt his own phrase, showed that he also was but a man; for he fell in love with a young lady of Savannah, who eventually married a Mr. Williamson and became a thorn in the side of him whom either she jilted or who had discarded her.* Miss Sophia

* The journals of Wesley and of Stephens are at issue upon this tender point. In 1737, Mr. William Stephens was sent to Georgia by the Trustees, as their Secretary at Savannah. By their desire he kept a very minute diary, portions of which he transmitted to them from time to time. He commenced his 'Journal of Proceedings in Georgia,' on his arrival at Charleston in October, 1737, and continued it down to

Hopkins, who was the niece of Mr. Causton, the Trustees' storekeeper, took French lessons from Wesley, became a convert to his ministry, and, growing in grace, as she professed, was admitted a member of his church. By coquettish arts she rapidly won his affections, and completely fascinated him; till his friend Delamotte, suspecting the sincerity of the young lady's piety, cautioned him against her wiles. The Moravian elders likewise advised him not to enter into a matrimonial engagement. Consequently he grew reserved in his conduct towards the fair charmer, who, mortified by his coldness, soon gave her hand to a more ardent wooer. She still, however, remembered Wesley's slight, and aroused among her friends a hostile feeling against him which, through his own temerity, ended in a manner that afforded food for public scandal.

A few months after her marriage, Wesley having perceived something which he considered reprehensible in her conduct, thought himself justified in withholding the Holy Communion from her. Williamson therefore indicted him in the Recorder's Court for defaming the character of his wife and repelling her from the Lord's Table. The first charge Wesley denied, and the second being an ecclesiastical question, he declared to be beyond the pale of magisterial authority. Williamson, nevertheless, pursued his action for damages, which he laid at £1000, and required that the defendant

October, 1741. Mr. Stephens discharged the duties of his arduous office with no less fidelity than justice; and his work, which was subsequently published in 3 vols. 8vo, bears every mark of accuracy and discrimination. Forming, as it does, a sequel to Francis Moore's narrative, it is a most important contribution towards the history of Georgia.

should give bail; but the magistrates replied, "Sir, Mr. Wesley's word is sufficient." Other charges, to the number of ten, were now brought against the persecuted missionary, and as he refused to enter into recognizances the recorder was obliged to issue a warrant against him.

Wesley having announced that business of moment would make it necessary for him to come to England for the purpose of waiting upon the Trustees, notice was given to the constables to arrest him, in case he should attempt to depart. So, considering himself only a prisoner at large, he saw that the hour was come for leaving Georgia; and after evening prayers, the tide serving, he, as himself relates, shook off the dust of his feet as a witness against Savannah.* But, according to a more disinterested journalist, on the night of the 2nd of December, attended by one Coates, an idle mischief-making constable, much in debt, Gough, a tything-man, who forsook wife and child, and a barber named Campbell, an insignificant, loose, fellow, fit for any leader who would make a tool of him, Wesley took boat and was rowed over to Purrysburgh. Thence the fugitives walked to Port Royal, and proceeding to Charlestown, Wesley there embarked for England.†

* 'Journal of the Rev. John Wesley.' First Extract, p. 63. The social condition of Savannah must have greatly deteriorated within a few months; for, speaking of that town, in April, he wrote:—"O blessed place where, having but one end in view, dissembling and fraud are not; but each one can pour out his heart without fear, into his brother's bosom."—*Ibid.* p. 32.

† 'Proceedings in Georgia,' vol. i. pp. 45–48. Stephens adds:—"If

Charles Wesley, still in London, makes entry in his journal of 1738:—"February 3rd. News brought that my brother was come from America. I could not believe till at night I saw him. He comes not driven away; but to tell the true state of the colony, which, according to his account, is truly deplorable. Feb. 4th.—I informed Mr. Oglethorpe of his arrival. He was very inquisitive into the cause of his coming; said, he ought not to have returned without the Trustees' leave. Feb. 16th.—Mr. Oglethorpe told me, 'Your brother must have a care. There is a very strong spirit raising against him. People say he is come over to do mischief to the colony. He will be called upon for his reasons why he left the people.'"*

John Wesley had already done much mischief in the colony. Tenacious though he was of his own privileges as a clergyman, he not only preached upon the duty of resistance to public authority, but in the open Court spoke against the proceedings of the magistrates in such a manner as to excite the passions of the people.† In a community of such heterogeneous elements, even under the most favourable circumstances, it was difficult enough to enforce the laws; and with so powerful a champion of disloyalty it is no wonder that the magistrates should have apprehended personal violence, and feared that the colony would be reduced to a state of anarchy. Wesley's conduct, therefore, could

the parson had taken a few more with him of such as he then made his companions, provided their creditors did not suffer, the colony would be the better without them" (p. 53).

* C. Wesley's Journal, vol. i. p. 81.

† Stephens's 'Journal of Proceedings in Georgia,' vol. i. pp. 15–19.

not but tend to disaffect Oglethorpe towards him. Despite his zeal, devotedness, and piety, and notwithstanding the good he in after life effected, there never was a man more unfit for the office of a missionary than he now under our notice; and perhaps, also, there never has been a more remarkable transformation of character than that of the self-sufficient, arrogant young priest into the subsequent reviver of our Church.

Wesley, while stationed at Savannah, did not consider himself so much a minister to the inhabitants as a missionary to the Indians. Yet he never so much as attempted to learn their language; and his own notions of divine things were then so mystical that no interpreter could render perspicuous in a strange dialect what even an English hearer could not comprehend. An untutored Indian was wiser in his generation than this enigmatical teacher. Tomo Chichi, a shrewd observer of the disposition and conduct of those who called themselves Christians, when Wesley urged him to embrace the doctrines of Christianity, sagaciously replied—"Why, these are Christians at Savannah! Those are Christians at Frederica! Christians get drunk! Christians beat men! Christians tell lies! Me no Christian."

Another time, after the Indians had had an audience, Wesley and the venerable chief dined with Oglethorpe. After dinner, the missionary asked the grey-headed old man what he thought he was made for. "He that is above," replied the Mico, "knows what He made us for. We know nothing. We are in the dark. But white men know much. And yet white men build

great houses, as if they were to live for ever. But white men cannot live for ever. In a little time white men will be dust as well as I." Wesley told him, "If red men will learn the Good Book, they may know as much as white men. But neither we nor you can understand that book unless we are taught by Him that is above; and He will not teach unless you avoid what you already know is not good." "I believe that," responded the Indian, "He will not teach us while our hearts are not white; and our men do what they know is not good. Therefore He that is above does not send us the Good Book."

In June 1736, John Wesley, according to his own report, hoped that a door was opened for going up immediately to the Choctaws, the least polished, *i. e.* the least corrupted of all the Indians. But upon his informing Mr. Oglethorpe of his design, he warned him against the danger of being intercepted or killed by the French, and mentioned the inexpediency of leaving Savannah destitute of a minister. These observations Wesley related to his brethren, who were all of opinion that they ought not to go yet. Again, in November, after Oglethorpe sailed for England, he complains of having less prospect of preaching to the Indians than he had the first day he set foot in America. And, only a few weeks before he quitted the colony for ever, having consulted his friends upon the subject, they were unanimous that he ought to go, but not *yet*. So he laid the thought aside "for the present." The real truth would appear to be that he never was seriously bent upon the undertaking; for

had he been, surely a man of his strong will would have essayed it. Nor, in arriving at this conclusion is it necessary to impute to him any intention to deceive others; for, by putting off the realization of his *wish* from time to time, he may have learned to regard it as a mere project. The friends he consulted probably considered him to be unsuited for the task. Whether or not, such certainly was Oglethorpe's opinion.

Mention has been made in a previous chapter of a little book written by the good Bishop of Sodor and Man.* It was not published till late in the year 1740, when Dr. Thomas Wilson sent a copy of it to the General, whose letter of acknowledgment discloses his sentiments upon the topic now under review so unequivocally that it may be appropriately inserted here:—

"FREDERICA, IN GEORGIA,
"*April* 24, 1741.

"SIR,—I have received, with not less pleasure than profit, the book sent to me by you which was composed by your father. This work breathes so strongly the spirit of primitive piety; its style is so clear; its plan is so easy for minds even the most limited, and at the same time so well adapted to make them understand the most profound mysteries, that it is a true representation of the religion in which it instructs its reader. Had our Methodists, instead of their lofty imaginations, been taught enough of the language of the Indians to be able to translate this book; or had *they* been sufficiently instructed to permit them to read

* See *ante*, p. 90.

it with advantage, I doubt not that we should immediately see surprising results from it; but God will accomplish His good work by the means which He will judge proper to employ. I have written to Mr. Verelst to buy, to the amount of £5 sterling, copies of your father's work, and to send them to me. Have the kindness to commend me to the prayers of a divine so worthy and pious; and be assured that I am

"Your affectionate friend, and

"Very humble and obedient servant,

"James Oglethorpe."

Wesley effected as little towards the reformation of the colonists as towards the conversion of the Indians. His sermons bore so directly, not only upon public affairs but on the conduct of individuals, that they were shrunk from as personal allusions. Many instances of the alienating effects of his preaching are mentioned by Stephens; but his own Journal bears ample testimony to the same purport. "Observing such coldness," he says, "in Mr. ——'s behaviour, I asked him the reason of it. He answered, 'I like nothing you do; all your sermons are satires upon particular persons. Therefore I will never hear you more; and all the people are of my mind, for we won't hear ourselves abused. Besides, they say they are Protestants, but as for you they can't tell what religion you are of. They never heard of such a religion before. They do not know what to make of it. And then, your private behaviour; all the quarrels that have been here since you came have been long of you. In-

deed there is neither man nor woman in the town who minds a word you say; and so you may preach long enough, but nobody will come to hear you.'"*

His practice was as exclusive as his zeal was excessive, and the innovations he introduced into the discipline of the Church, though comparatively harmless in themselves, were sufficient to give offence to weaker brethren. The public officers and most respectable inhabitants gradually discontinued their attendance at divine worship; he at length lost that power which he had exerted over the consciences of the populace; and, notwithstanding the utmost self-devotion, he felt, after having laboured for a year and nine months, how little he had accomplished in the service of his Master. Yet all would have been well, as Southey justly observes, had Wesley remembered the advice of Dr. Burton, to consider his flock as babes in their Christian progress, and therefore to feed them with milk. Instead of which, "he drenched them with the physic of an intolerant discipline." †

Oglethorpe had cares enough to disquiet him without being teased, as he perpetually was, by complaints against the Wesleys; and he had good reason to wish that he had brought out with him as missionaries men of more tractable tempers. Yet no one could have acted with more forbearance towards those who thwarted him in carrying out his benevolent designs, than—with the exception perhaps, of his early quarrel with Charles—Oglethorpe exercised towards both the

* 'First Extract,' J. Wesley's Journal, p. 35.

† 'Life of Wesley,' vol. i. p. 58. See Appendix IV.

brothers. Few men, indeed, of his high station, clothed too as he was with almost unlimited power, would have borne so patiently with them. I am not certain whether any of the Wesleyan biographers have noticed the fact, that after the death of the venerable Rector of Epworth, Oglethorpe strenuously though ineffectually exerted his interest to obtain the living for John Wesley.* Previous to that period, Samuel Wesley, junior, while an usher of Westminster School, celebrated Oglethorpe's friendship in verse.† We have seen in what terms the father addressed him; ‡ and have read how warmly John confessed his obligations to him. To all of which it may be added that, up to April, 1738, Oglethorpe continued to assist Charles under the generous plea of retaining his services as Secretary; and when the young man, acting upon his brother's advice, formally resigned the office, Oglethorpe still offered, if he would keep it, to get it supplied by deputy. §

* In a letter to his brother Samuel, dated "Epworth, April 30, 1735," Charles Wesley wrote:—"My brother had laid aside all hopes (or fears, for I cannot certainly say which) of succeeding, as Sir J——s seemed to decline intermeddling; but by yours we guess Mr. Oglethorpe has quickened him."—'Original Letters by the Rev. John Wesley and his Friends, edited by Joseph Priestley. Birmingham, 1791,' p. 53.

† 'An Ode to James Oglethorpe, Esq., in the Country,' 1728. In the following year young Samuel Wesley also dedicated to Oglethorpe a poem entitled 'The Prisons Opened.'—'The Journal of the Rev. C. Wesley,' edited by T. Jackson. London, 1849. Intro. vii.-x.

‡ See *ante*, p. 91.

§ See Charles Wesley's Journal, etc., Feb. 3rd and 12th, 1738. A few days later Wesley called upon Oglethorpe, who, he says, received him "with his accustomed kindness."

Grahame relates that an aged friend of his was at a party in London when John Wesley first met the General after his return from America, when the latter on entering the room, approached Wesley and kissed his hand. Sarah Wesley likewise assured the historian that both her father and uncle always expressed the kindest feeling towards Oglethorpe.* And yet sectarian biographers, in their endeavours to elevate their hero into a demigod, must needs disparage Oglethorpe, and without a particle of foundation charge him with instigating the most pitiful intrigues, not only against Wesley's virtue and reputation, but even against his life! †—thus unwittingly convicting their idol of the vilest insincerity, in writing to a man whom, as they assert, he believed to be corrupt and licentious, "I bless God that ever you was born, etc.;" for whatever Wesley ever knew to Oglethorpe's discredit, he must necessarily have known when he penned his letter of the 24th of February, 1737.

Wesley subsequently turned his dearly bought experience to excellent account. He grew wise enough to take example by the moderation and consideration for the feelings of others which he had seen so eminently displayed in Oglethorpe. When he thanked God also, for having cast him into the General's hands, he may have had a foreshadowing of coming events; for in the remarkable power of organization exemplified by Ogle-

* 'History of the Rise and Progress of the United States, etc.' London, 1836, vol. iii. p. 200, *n*.

† I must except from this censure, the excellent and dispassionate Introduction by Mr. Thomas Jackson to his edition of Charles Wesley's Journal and Correspondence.

thorpe in establishing a colony, the Founder of Methodism had an admirable model whereby to organize a sect. Those of the Wesleys' followers therefore who have endeavoured to exonerate them by defaming their patron, were ungrateful as well as unjust. The Wesleys doubtless ever looked upon Oglethorpe as a man of the world, while he could not but regard them as enthusiasts. Nevertheless, each did justice to the other's merits; and it is gratifying to know that in their latter years, they frequently met at the concerts of Charles Wesley's sons, to which Oglethorpe was a constant subscriber.

It might reasonably be concluded that Oglethorpe's cares during this busy period of his life were sufficient to absorb his sympathies; but we have proof to the contrary. In the year 1737, a young adventurer whose name has since occupied more space in English literature than perhaps that of any other of its votaries left Lichfield to try his fortune in "the great field of genius and exertion." For months he struggled in obscurity, till at length, in May, 1738, he published a poem entitled 'London.' Every one was delighted with it; and there being no name to it, the first buzz of literary circles was, "Here is an unknown poet greater even than Pope." Consequently it reached a second edition within a week. One of the warmest patrons of the new poem was Mr. Oglethorpe. "This extraordinary person," adds Boswell, "was as remarkable for his learning and taste as for his other eminent qualities; and no man was more prompt, active, and generous, in encouraging merit. I have heard John-

son gratefully acknowledge in his presence, the kind and effectual support which he gave to his 'London,' though unacquainted with its author."*

Oglethorpe kissed his Majesty's hand on receiving his appointment as Colonel, in October, 1737; but as it was deemed expedient to reinforce Georgia before the regiment was complete, Government arranged to send a small body of troops thither from Gibraltar. George Whitefield, who had been engaged by the Trustees to succeed Wesley, therefore sailed for Gibraltar in December, and arrived with the soldiers on the 7th of May, 1738, at Savannah.† About the same time two or three companies of the General's own regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel James Cochrane, reached Charlestown, whence they immediately marched southwards by the road which Oglethorpe, during his last visit to the province had made from Port Royal to Darien.

Oglethorpe's regiment comprised six companies of one hundred men each, besides non-commissioned officers and drummers. To these a grenadier company was afterwards added. This battalion, according to contemporaneous reports, he raised in a very short time, as he disdained to make a market of the service of his country, by selling commissions; but got such officers appointed as were gentlemen of family and character in their respective counties. He likewise engaged about twenty young gentlemen of no fortune to serve as cadets, whom he afterwards advanced by

* 'Life of Johnson,' chapter vi.

† See Whitefield's 'Autobiography.'

degrees as vacancies happened; and to each cadet he presented upon his promotion a sum sufficient to provide him with whatever was requisite for his appearance as an officer. We shall find, however, that he was unlucky in the selection of more than one of his officers. He also carried with him, we are told, forty supernumeraries at his own expense; "a circumstance very extraordinary in our armies, especially in our Plantations."

In order to excite amongst the troops a personal interest in the Province which they had enlisted to defend, and to induce them eventually to settle therein, every man was permitted to take out a wife, for whose support extra pay and rations were allowed. At length having obtained the necessary stores of provisions, arms, ammunition, etc., Oglethorpe a third time embarked for Georgia, accompanied by six hundred men, women, and children, forming with those who preceded them, the full complement of the new regiment. They sailed from Portsmouth, on the 5th of July 1738, in five transports, convoyed by the men-of-war 'Blandford' and 'Hector.'

CHAPTER XI.

SEPTEMBER—DECEMBER 1738.

After an uneventful voyage, Oglethorpe arrived at St. Simon's on the 18th of September, with the men-of-war and transports containing the remainder of his regiment. The men, who next day landed at the 'Soldiers' Fort' on the south-east point of the island, were received with a discharge of artillery and the cheers of the garrison. The General himself encamped near the fort, and remained there for a few days superintending the disembarkation and making various necessary arrangements. He then went to Frederica, where he was welcomed by the magistrates and townsmen, who waited on him in a body and congratulated him on his return. Several Indians also came to greet him, and informed him that the Chiefs of every tribe of the Upper and Lower Creeks purposed visiting him as soon as they should receive notice of his arrival. As he considered it desirable to open up a means of land communication between the town and the sea forts, on the morning of the 25th every male inhabitant went

out with him and began to cut a way through the woods. The work, we are told, was accomplished in three days, the distance being more than six miles.

Oglethorpe, while tracing the course of this avenue, was thinking of the enemy; and, as the subsequent preservation of the colony was in a great degree owing to the skilful manner in which he laid out the route, it is necessary to describe it somewhat minutely. Leading out of the town in an easterly direction, it then curved towards the south, and entered upon a fine savannah or prairie over which it passed for more than a mile, when it penetrated a dense oak forest through which it kept the same course until it reached a marsh that bounded the island seawards. Along the marsh, the margin of which was dry and hard, no artificial road was necessary. This natural highway was bordered on the one hand by creeks and swamps, and on the other by a thick and impenetrable wood covered with vines and palmettoes. Moreover it was so narrow that only two men could well march abreast. The winding way along the marsh continued for two miles; whence the road passed up to the high land which had become open, and proceeded in a direct line to the fort commanding the entrance to the Sound. The General carried out this work so that, while it formed a sufficient means of communication between the outpost and the town, the primeval forest served as a rampart mighty to save; and thus—as we shall see—a few men were enabled to repel very many times their number of invaders.*

* Spalding. 'Collections of Georgia Historical Society,' vol. i.

The people of Frederica and Darien were much relieved by the arrival of the General's regiment complete and in excellent order; as for months past they had been in constant apprehension of being attacked by the Spaniards, who, notwithstanding the treaty concluded between their commissioners and Oglethorpe, had greatly increased their garrison at St. Augustine and were providing for further reinforcements at Havannah. Indeed, the Floridians had actually attacked some of the Creek settlements nearest to them; but, being repulsed with much loss, they pretended that the assault was the unauthorized act of their Indians. So frequently had the people of southern Georgia been diverted by alarms from their daily labours, that the cultivation of their fields was necessarily neglected, and therefore, not only was scarcity to be expected, but it was to be feared that, before the next harvest could be saved, many of the poorer settlers would be reduced to positive want. In consequence, however, of the measures which Oglethorpe was now taking for the general security of the province, of the supplies which, in addition to the military stores, he had brought, and of more that he had sent for, the popular anxiety was removed, and regular labour was resumed.

The General's first care was to strengthen all his frontier posts and distribute his forces as he thought best for the protection of the colony. He assigned different corps for their several duties; some stationary at their respective forts; some on the alert for ranging the woods; and others for sudden expeditions. He

likewise provided suitable vessels and boats for scouring the sea-coast and for giving intelligence of the approach of strange shipping. He went himself from one station to another, and not merely superintended, but actually assisted every operation; enduring hardship as a good soldier, by lying in tents or by watch-fires, while his men had the shelter of huts and every reasonable comfort. In all which services he gave at the same time his orders and his example, there being nothing he did not that he directed others to do.*

Yet treachery lurked within the camp; not unforeseen, however, for in a letter written "on board the 'Blandford' at Plymouth, July 3rd," Oglethorpe had informed the Trustees:—"We have discovered that one of our soldiers has been in the Spanish service, and that he hath strove to seduce several men to desert with him to them, on their arrival in Georgia. He designed also to murder the officers, or such persons as could have money, and carry away the plunder. Two of the gang have confessed, and accused him; but we cannot discover the rest. The fellow has plenty of money, and he said he was to have sixty or a hundred crowns, according to the number of men he carried. He is yet very obstinate, refusing to give any account of his correspondents. We shall not try him till we come to Georgia, because we hope we shall make more discoveries." The expectation was fulfilled, as appears from the following passage in a letter which Oglethorpe addressed from Frederica, on the 8th of

* 'The Rise and Progress of Georgia,' in 'A Compleat Collection of Voyages and Travels, by John Harris, D.D.' (London, 1764), vol. ii. p. 332.

October, to the Duke of Newcastle :—"We have discovered some men who listed themselves as spies. We took upon one of them his furlough from Berwick's regiment in the Irish troops. They strove to persuade some of our men to betray a post to the Spaniards; who, instead of complying, discovered their intentions. I have ordered a general court-martial for the trying of them, who have not yet made their report. One of them owns himself a Roman Catholic and denies the King having any authority over him." The traitors, being found guilty, were sentenced to be whipped and drummed out of the regiment; a punishment which proved to be injudiciously lenient.*

On the 8th of October the General, attended by Captain Hugh Mackay, of his own regiment, and Captain Sutherland, of Charlestown, set out in an open boat for Savannah, where he arrived on the morning of the 10th. He was received at the water-side by the magistrates, and saluted by the militia under arms and by the cannon of the fort. During the day, all who thronged to bid him welcome were kindly admitted,

* Shannon, the ringleader, wandered in the Indian districts, intending to make his way to some of the French settlements, and meanwhile endeavoured to seduce the natives from their alliance. He was discovered by Oglethorpe in the following year, when the General made a progress through those parts of the province; but the fellow made his escape. Soon afterwards he was captured and sent to Savannah, where he was imprisoned. However, he and a Spaniard, who professed to be a travelling doctor and had been taken up as a spy, broke out of gaol and fled. In September, 1740, they murdered two persons at Fort Argyle, and being taken at the Uchee town, were brought back to Savannah, where they were tried, condemned, and executed, having previously confessed their crimes.

without distinction, and the people spent the night in rejoicings. But, notwithstanding these demonstrations of joy, this visit to his first-born settlement was as disagreeable to Oglethorpe himself as it was fraught with mischief to some of those who welcomed him. Though a large majority were duly sensible of his devotedness to the welfare of the colony, and were actuated on the present occasion by sincere gratitude and respect, others who had reason to dread investigation into their conduct during his absence joined in the acclaim, with a view to conciliate his favour, while those who had been discontented grumblers had not the courage to exhibit their disaffection.

The General, having long disapproved of the management of the Trustees' stores, ordered Mr. Thomas Jones, who had come over with the regiment as its "Advocate," to examine the accounts; and no sooner arrived at Savannah than he learned that the Grand Jury had, some time back, drawn up a representation of their "grievances, hardships, and necessities." They especially complained of the misconduct of Mr. Thomas Causton, the first magistrate of the town, and keeper of the public stores, alleging that he had expended much larger sums than the Trustees authorized, and thus brought the colony into debt; that he had assumed powers not delegated to him; and had been partial and arbitrary in the measures he had pursued.*

After spending a week upon a most patient and laborious investigation into the state of affairs, which

* 'Narrative of the Colony of Georgia,' by P. Tailfer, M.D., and others. (Charlestown, S. C., 1741.)

disclosed the grossest extravagance and impropriety on the part of Causton, the Governor ordered him immediately to hand over to Mr. Jones all books and documents connected with his office, from which he was now dismissed. He also required him to find security for his appearance; but as the delinquent could not procure bail adequate to the charges which might be brought against him, Oglethorpe did not insist upon more than his own bond and an assignment of his estates at Oakstead and elsewhere, upon which he had expended large sums in improvements. The post thus rendered vacant was soon afterwards bestowed upon Mr. William Stephens.

On the 17th the General called all the inhabitants together at the Town Hall, and there made "a pathetic speech" to them. He began by thanking them for their fidelity and courage in not being frightened by the threats of the Spaniards to forsake the colony. He then acquainted them with the situation of the Trustees' affairs; that having been obliged to maintain garrisons, etc. till the arrival of the King's troops, with other unexpected expenses, had occasioned such heavy demands upon their funds that, until Parliament voted them a further grant, they were compelled to discontinue the allowances hitherto so liberally supplied. The ordinary issues from the public store must therefore be retrenched that something might remain for the necessary support of those poor persons who were not to be blamed. This communication, we are told, "had such an effect that many people appeared thunderstruck, knowing not where it would end; neither

could the most knowing determine."* He added that, for his own part, he was fully sensible of the privations which the early settlers had endured, and that he feared still heavier trials were inevitable. He therefore informed those who thought they could better their conditions by leaving the province that they had his full consent to depart. At the same time he requested all such persons to wait upon him with statements of their grievances, when he would give them his best advice, and all the aid in his power. "Such encouragement is given," says Stephens, "and even invitation, by our good neighbours of Carolina to all who appear uneasy here, that it is to be feared too many may be tempted to make experiment what better fare they may find in that province."† Nevertheless, we are assured that, critical though their position was at this period, all seemed resolved to stay rather than to leave the country now in distress.‡

In order to lessen the demands upon the Trustees, Oglethorpe disbanded the troop of Rangers who guarded the inland frontier, though the men offered to serve without pay; but he thought it would be unfair to take their labour without remuneration. He settled all appointments both civil and military where changes had taken place, filled up vacancies, and economically reorganized the whole municipal establishment. Then calling every official to his lodgings, he exhorted them to discharge their duties with care and diligence, and

* Stephens's Journal, vol. i. p. 305.

† 'Journal of Proceedings in Georgia,' vol. i. p. 347.

‡ Letter in 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. ix. p. 23.

to use their best endeavours to preserve the peace, especially at this juncture, when the ill-disposed, by taking advantage of the pressure under which the colony laboured, might craftily incite the populace to insurrection. Above all, he earnestly recommended them to maintain unanimity amongst themselves, as the surest means of upholding authority and of restraining the licentious. He likewise endeavoured by his good offices to reconcile the discontented, and sought by unexpected and unmerited liberalities to win their affections. With timely largesses, also, he succoured the widows, the orphans, and the sick; and largely contributed towards the relief of all who were indigent. "The General," adds the writer of the letter above cited, "by his great diligence, and at his own expense, has supported things, but we are apprehensive that cannot last long; for the expenses are too great for any single man to bear."

Under existing circumstances, the cultivation of the natural resources of the country was necessarily retarded; and it gave Oglethorpe much pain that he had now neither time nor funds wherewith to encourage improvements. The culture of silk, however, had not been totally neglected; and an Italian family had wound a considerable quantity as fine as any produced in Piedmont. There were also mulberry-trees enough to feed a large stock of worms, and several settlers had succeeded in growing vines; but the plants were still too young to yield any supply of wine. A potter, too, had discovered a bed of clay such as china is made of, and baked several specimens of fine earthenware; and at New Ebenezer there was a large mill capable of

sawing 700 feet of plank daily. The Moravians were generally prosperous, and during the General's visit were joined by 130 of their brethren from Germany.

The day after Oglethorpe's arrival in Savannah, Tomo Chichi came to welcome him. The aged Mico had been very ill, but was so rejoiced at again meeting "The Great Man," as he called the Governor, that he said the interview quite restored him, making him "moult like an eagle." He informed the General that the chiefs of several of the Creek "nations" were at Yamacraw, and wished to congratulate him on his return, and assure him of their fidelity to the King of Great Britain. On the 13th, the chiefs of the Chehaws, the Ocmulgees, the Palachicolas, the Ouchasees, and other tribes, with thirty of their warriors and fifty attendants, came down the river. As they walked up the hill they were saluted with military honours, and conducted by a party of militia to the town-hall, where the General received them. On seeing him they expressed great delight; for the Spaniards, having persuaded them that he was at St. Augustine, invited them to meet him at that place. They went accordingly, but as soon as they found he was not there they turned back, though the Spaniards offered them valuable presents, and, as an excuse for Oglethorpe's absence, pretended that he was lying on board a vessel in the harbour, very ill. The wily seducers then advised them to break with the English, but the single-hearted red men, having escaped the snare, now came to Savannah to testify their readiness on all occasions to serve under the General against his enemies, and to

inform him that 1000 Creeks were prepared to march whenever he should command them. They next requested that the Governor would order them to be supplied with true weights and measures; for the traders who went amongst them from Carolina used false ones. They therefore desired that standard weights and measures might be lodged with the chiefs of each tribe. The General having complied with their wish, they invited him, in the course of the following summer, to visit their towns which were situated about 400 miles westward of Savannah. This, also, he promised to do; and having made them handsome presents, attended a war-dance which they held in the evening. Next morning they took leave of him, and set out on their long journey home.*

Oglethorpe himself departed on the 25th of October for St. Simon's, leaving, says Stephens, "a gloomy prospect of what might ensue, and many sorrowful countenances." After a short stay at Frederica, he proceeded to the island of Cumberland, and took up his temporary quarters at Fort St. Andrew's. The island was then garrisoned by the companies that came from Gibraltar. It appears that these troops, in addition to their pay, were allowed provisions from the King's store for a limited time after their arrival in Georgia; but when, in November, their rations were discontinued, the men thinking themselves wronged became dissatisfied. One day while the Governor was talking with Captain Mackay at the door of his hut, a soldier had the hardihood to go up to him and uncere-

* 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. ix. p. 23.

moniously demand their allowance. The General replied that the terms of their enlistment had been fulfilled, and that if they desired any special favour at his hands, so rude and disrespectful a manner of application was not the way to obtain it. The fellow becoming outrageously insolent, Captain Mackay drew his sword, which the desperado snatched from his hand, broke in half, and throwing the hilt at the officer's head, ran off to the barracks. There taking a loaded gun, he cried, "One and all!" when, followed by five more of the conspirators, he rushed out and fired at the General. Being only a few paces distant, the ball whizzed close by Oglethorpe's ear, while the powder scorched his face and singed his clothes. Another soldier presented his piece and attempted to discharge it, but fortunately it missed fire. A third then drew his hanger and endeavoured to stab the General, who, having by this time unsheathed his sword, parried the thrust, and an officer coming up ran the ruffian through the body. The other frustrated mutineers now tried to escape by flight, but the alarm having spread, they were soon caught and hurried off to gaol to await their trial.*

In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, dated "Frederica, November 20th, 1738," Oglethorpe gives the following simple account of the dastardly design upon his life:—"Those soldiers who came from Gibraltar have mutinied. The King gave them provisions and pay at Gibraltar. He gave them but six months' provisions

* 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. ix. 214; 'Stephens's Journal,' vol. i. p. 327; and M'Call's 'History of Georgia,' vol. i. p. 123–5.

here; after which they were to live upon their pay. On the expiration of their provisions they demanded a continuance of them, and not being able to comply with their demands, they took up arms. One of them fired upon me. After a short skirmish we got the better of them. One of the officers was slightly, and one of the mutineers dangerously wounded, and five are secured prisoners to be tried by a court-martial. We have strong reasons to suspect that our neighbours have tampered with these men. Many of them speak Spanish, and some of their boats [from Florida], under various pretences, came up hither before my arrival."

The culprits were sentenced to death, but it would appear that the ringleader only was executed; for the writer of a letter from Frederica, so late as the 26th of December, speaking of the officers, says,—"They are not very easy, and perhaps will not, till the mutineers are punished *in terrorem*, which has been delayed by the General's forbearance." However, by the frustration of the insidious plots of the Spaniards, and by the speedy suppression of the mutiny, in which doubtless the treacherous enemy had also a hand, the spirit of insubordination was quelled, and the southern colonists were relieved from all immediate fears.

Causton not only displayed great reluctance in making up his accounts, and much perversity in explaining them, but in conversation with Mr. Jones, insinuated that the General "very well knew what extraordinary occasions had created those great exceedings; which the Trustees not approving of, he [Causton] was given

up to be driven to ruin." Mr. Jones consequently wrote to apprise the General of the aspersions cast upon his honour, and the impediments which he himself met with in the business assigned to him. Immediately on receipt of the letter Oglethorpe started for Savannah, where he arrived early on Saturday, the 11th of November; and as the church-bell was ringing for morning prayers, he went and joined the congregation. After his recent deliverance from death, the solemnity of divine worship was much more grateful to to his feelings than the parade of his late reception; and the petitions in which he took part may have disposed him to be the more lenient towards the man who had so grievously trespassed against him in trying to rob him of that which was far dearer to him than life.

After prayers he walked with Mr. Stephens in the Public Garden; and in the course of the day dispatched divers affairs which he thought of most importance to inquire into during the short stay he proposed to make. In the evening he sent for Causton, and, in the presence of Mr. Stephens and Mr. Jones, in a very mild manner and in much gentler terms than could be expected upon such provocation, reprehended him for the freedom he had taken with his name. "If," he added, "in the course of your inquiries you find any written orders from me, you ought to produce them; or if you have verbal orders only, you should not scruple to charge them to my account, and leave me to exonerate myself; or if in divers cases you have no other plea than the necessity of the service, you ought to set forth what that necessity was,

leaving it to the Trustees how far it may content them." Then recommending him to use no more delays nor shifts in making up his accounts, he dismissed him.

On Sunday the General attended public worship, and had the pleasure of hearing a sermon after his own heart, delivered by the Rev. Mr. Norris, who had recently arrived in Savannah. It was a good practical discourse, exhorting to holiness of life as a means of forgiveness through Christ's death. Not a few of the people, however, condemned everything from the pulpit savouring of morality or good works. "From whence the propagation of such mysterious doctrine first sprung," says Stephens, "is pretty well known;" and with much sound sense, he observes:—"Sublime points in divinity are ill suited to a young colony, where the preacher's labours would be best bestowed in plainly setting forth the sad consequences of a vicious life, the amiableness of the Christian religion, with the certain rewards attending the practice of it; and inculcating those duties to God and our neighbour which are so essential to religion, and the practice of which, we are taught to hope, through the mediation of our Saviour, will be accepted, though not through any merit of our own; relying on him in faith."*

Immediately after divine service, the General took boat and returned to the south, where, for the remainder of the year, he was so busily occupied that he could not again visit Savannah, as he had purposed, in order to open the Court of Claims. But, in spite of

* 'Journal of Proceedings in Georgia,' vol. i. p. 309.

all his labours and cares, his natural good spirits and cheerfulness never forsook him, as is shown by the opening of a letter which he meanwhile addressed to the Right Honourable Thomas Winnington, Paymaster of the Forces:—"Frederica, in Georgia, 20th November, 1738. Dear Sir,—Here are some Worcestershire gentlemen who daily drink your health. I wish they do not commit idolatry, for they seem to remember you with as much veneration as the Greeks did their gods over their cups. Next to the King the libation is to you. Captain Burridge [of the 'Blandford'] is foremost. I hope you will use your interest for to continue him stationed in Georgia. The ships stationed at Charlestown are of no use to us, for the same south wind which would bring up the Spaniards to attack us keeps them, who lie to the northward, from coming down to our assistance."

Oglethorpe next informs his correspondent of the critical situation of the colony; and the following paragraph so clearly exhibits the cause of the Trustees' embarrassment, that it will serve to elucidate his address to the people of Savannah, on the 17th of October, the substance of which has been already given:—"The Parliament, to defray the charges of the improvements of the colony of Georgia, and the military defence thereof, used to grant £20,000 for a year. The King ordered a regiment for the defence of the colony, and thereupon the Trustees were contented to abate £12,000 in their demands, and £8000 only was granted to them. But, as the regiment did not arrive till near a year afterwards, the Trustees were

obliged to support the military charge of the colony during that whole time, which was very dangerous by reason of the threatened invasion of the Spaniards, of which you received so many accounts. No officer of the Trustees dared abandon a garrison, reduce any men, or dismiss the militia whilst the Spaniards threatened the province, and the King's troops were not arrived to relieve them. A debt of near £12,000 is contracted because by unforeseen accidents the regiment was delayed, and the military expense was continued till their arrival, though the Parliamentary grant ceased." He then entreats Mr. Winnington to assist the Trustees on their application to Parliament for a sum sufficient to discharge this debt: "For if," he adds, "the people who furnished with necessaries a colony then threatened with invasion, and the people who then bore arms for the defence of it (and thereby secured that important frontier till the arrival of the King's troops) should be ruined by not being paid their just demands, it would prevent hereafter any frontier colony from receiving assistance."*

* From 'Notes and Queries,' 3rd s. vol. x. p. 64.

CHAPTER XII.

JANUARY—DECEMBER, 1739.

The beginning of the year 1739 was rendered unpleasant to Oglethorpe by dissensions amongst the officers of his regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel Cochrane brought several charges against Captain Hugh Mackay, upon which the latter was tried by court-martial and honourably acquitted; and Captain Norbury being found guilty by another court-martial of using disrespectful language towards the Lieutenant-Colonel was ordered to beg his pardon. Captain Mackay—not without some show of reason—afterwards accused Colonel Cochrane of "following merchandise to the neglect of his duty; selling to the soldiers at exorbitant profit; occasioning a spirit of mutiny; and breaking the treaty with the Spaniards." The Lieutenant-Colonel could not be brought to trial in Georgia, because no field-officer could be tried unless the court were composed of thirteen captains or other officers of superior rank, and there were altogether but six cap-

tains and field-officers in the corps. Captain Mackay therefore applied to the General for leave to come to England to prosecute Colonel Cochrane. The latter also wrote to the General for permission to return, assuring him that he would try to effect an exchange, so that further proceedings might be stopped. The officers of the regiment then held a meeting at which the disputants being present, both of them promised to remain quiet until the General should grant them leave of absence. In the meanwhile, Captain Mackay went to St. Andrew's, to superintend the execution of Hurley, one of the late mutineers.

In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, on the 22nd of February, Oglethorpe relates the sequel:—"I was walking with the Lieutenant-Colonel on the seabeach when Captain Mackay returned, landed, and came up to me with several officers. After I had spoke to them, and Captain Mackay had given me an account of the execution, the Lieutenant-Colonel called Captain Mackay aside. I turned aside to speak to the Chaplain, and suddenly turning my head about, I saw the Lieutenant-Colonel strike Captain Mackay with a great stick that he had in his hand. The officers ran in to prevent mischief. I inquired of them, and they all declared that they had not heard Captain Mackay give him any ill language. Upon this I put them both under arrest, and shall keep them under arrest till they have embarked in different ships. They desired examinations to be had of several facts, on which I appointed commissaries to take them, and have sent them to the Secretary at War to be laid before his Majesty."

Some days afterwards both officers, with their respective guards, passed through Savannah on their way to Charlestown, for embarkation.

On the 5th of March the General himself arrived from the south at Savannah; coming so suddenly upon the townsfolk that very few were upon the bluff to receive him on landing. Having transacted a multiplicity of business there, on the evening of the 10th he set out by water for Port Royal, where, at Fort Frederick, near Beaufort, a company of his regiment kept garrison; and from thence he proceeded to Charlestown. On the 3rd of April he presented himself before the General Assembly of South Carolina, when his commission as Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's forces in that province as well as in Georgia was opened and read; and having, in pursuance of his authority, effected various regulations in the military establishment of the rival colony, he returned to his own. Laying aside the sword for the plough, he spent a busy week amongst the plantations in the neighbourhood of Savannah. In order to encourage the industry of the freeholders, he promised those who persevered in the culture of their lands, bounties of two shillings per bushel for all the Indian corn, and one shilling a bushel for what potatoes they might grow, over and above the market prices for such produce of the next harvest; and, after attending to various other affairs, he once more repaired to Frederica.

The Trustees, hoping by leaving things *statu quo*, to afford the Spaniards no new pretence for hostilities, desired Oglethorpe, on his return from England, neither

to build more forts nor to strengthen those he had already raised: a request which was needless, for he had not the funds to do either. Foreseeing, however, that a war was inevitable between England on the one side, and either Spain or France—if not both—on the other, he determined to adopt every means of securing the friendship of the Indians. He was induced to this, not so much on account of the actual force they could bring into the field, as the probability that while the red men remained faithful to him, the French of Louisiana and West Florida would be cautious how they weakened their own provinces to support the pretended claims of Spain to Georgia and South Carolina. On the 15th of June, he informed the Trustees:—

"I have received frequent and confirmed advices that the Spaniards are striving to bribe the Indians, and particularly the Creek nation, to differ with us; and the disorder of the Traders is such as gives but too much room to render the Indians discontented; great numbers of vagrants being gone up without licences either from Carolina or us. Chigilly, and Malachee, the son of the great Brim, who was called Emperor of the Creeks by the Spaniards, insist upon my coming up to put all things in order, and have acquainted me that all the chiefs of the nation will come down to the Coweta town to meet me, and hold the general assembly of the Indian nations; where they will take such measures as will be necessary to hinder the Spaniards from corrupting and raising sedition amongst their people.

"This journey, though a very fatiguing and dan-

gerous one, is quite necessary to be taken; for if not, the Spaniards, who have sent up great presents to them, will bribe the corrupt part of the nation; and, if the honester part is not supported, will probably overcome them and force the whole nation into a war with England. Tomo Chichi and all the Indians advise me to go up. The Coweta town, where the meeting is to be, is near 500 miles from hence; it is in a straight line 300 miles from the sea. All the towns of the Creeks and of the Cousees and Talapousees, though 300 miles from the Cowetas, will come down to the meeting. The Choctaws also and the Chickesaws will send thither their deputies; so that 7000 men depend upon the event of this assembly. The Creeks can furnish 1500 warriors, the Chickesaws 500, and the Choctaws 5000. I am obliged to buy horses and presents to carry up to this meeting."

Early in July Oglethorpe set out from Frederica and, on the evening of the 10th, arrived at Savannah, where he was received by forty freeholders, under arms; which number, he told Mr. Stephens, was more than he expected had not run away. During his short stay much of his time was taken up in giving audiences to many persons successively. The remainder of it he employed in examining the various stores, and found that the flour lately imported was unfit for use, being quite rotten. Several Indian traders applying for licences, and Mr. Charles Wesley having taken all the books and rules with him to England, relating to that business, Mr. Stephens had the General's orders to dispatch four of them, by writing short permits instead

of the regular form to be observed at a proper time; till when this method would sufficiently answer their purpose, while it limited their power and kept them under the same regulations as their former licences.

It appears from a letter addressed, on the 16th of July, by Oglethorpe to the Duke of Newcastle, that the part of Georgia occupied by the Lower Creeks and the Choctaws bordered upon the French settlements. The French having fallen upon some of these Indians, the latter had defended themselves, and were now preparing a counter attack. "I find," continues the General, "I cannot prevent them by any other means than by going up myself amongst them, and set out to-morrow. I shall insist upon their not making war with the French, and hope to succeed."

Next morning he started upon his adventurous expedition. Accompanied by Lieutenant Dunbar, Ensign Leman, and Mr. Eyre, a cadet, and attended by his servants, he proceeded in his cutter up the river Savannah. They landed at the Uchee town, five-and-twenty miles above Ebenezer, where the General had engaged Indian traders to meet him with saddle and sumpter horses. Three hundred miles of wilderness without so much as a visible track had still to be traversed. But, through tangled thickets, along rough ravines, and over dreary swamps in which the horses mired and plunged, the travellers patiently followed their native guides. More than once they had to construct rafts on which to pass great rivers, and many smaller streams were crossed by wading or swimming, Wrapped in his cloak, with his portmanteau for a

pillow, their hardy leader lay down to sleep upon the ground; or, if the night happened to be wet, he sheltered himself in a covert of cypress boughs spread upon poles. For a distance of two-hundred miles the adventurers neither saw a human habitation, nor met a single soul; but as they came nearer to their journey's end, they here and there found provisions which the primitive people they were about to visit had deposited for them in the woods. When the General had approached within forty miles of his destination, he was received by a deputation of chiefs who escorted him on the remainder of his way to Coweta, the principal town of the Muscoghee or Creek Indians; and, although the American aborigines are rarely demonstrative, nothing could exceed the joy manifested by these red men on Oglethorpe's arrival.*

By having undertaken so long and difficult a journey for the purpose of visiting them; by coming amongst them with only a few attendants, in fearless reliance on their good faith; by the readiness with which he accommodated himself to their habits; and by the natural dignity of his deportment, Oglethorpe won the hearts of his red brothers, whom he was never known to deceive. On the 11th of August the chiefs of the several tribes assembled, and the great council was opened with all the solemn rites prescribed for such occasions. After many "talks," terms of intercourse and stipulations for trade were satisfactorily arranged; and Oglethorpe, as one of their Beloved Men, par-

* Letter to the Trustees, dated "Fort Augusta, September 5th, 1739."

took of the *Foskey*,* or black medicine-drink, and smoked with them the calumet, or hallowed pipe of peace. On the 21st of the same month was concluded a formal treaty, by which the Creeks renewed their fealty to the King of Great Britain, and in terms more full and explicit confirmed their previous grants of territory; while the General, on the part of the Trustees, engaged that the English should not encroach upon their reserves, and that the traders should deal fairly and honestly with them.

The last point was indeed the most serious difficulty Oglethorpe had to overcome. "If I had not gone up," he writes a few days afterwards, "the misunderstanding between them and the Carolina traders, fomented by our neighbouring nations, would probably have occasioned a war, which, I believe, might have been the result of this general meeting; but, as their complaints were just and reasonable, I gave them satisfaction in all of them, and everything is settled in peace." Having also persuaded the Choctaws not to make war upon the French, and after being assured by the Chiefs of all the tribes that their warriors should march to his assistance whenever he might summon them, Oglethorpe set out on his return. The Trustees, congratu-

* Foskey, a decoction of the leaves and young shoots of the *Cassena* or *Yaupon* (*Prinos glaber*), producing an exhilarating effect. It is prepared with much formality; and being considered a sacred beverage, none but the Chiefs, War-captains, and Priests or Beloved Men partake of it; and these only upon special occasions. Accounts of its preparation and use may be found in Lawson's 'Voyage to Carolina' (London, 1709), p. 90; 'The Natural History of Florida,' by Bernard Romans, p. 94; and Adair's 'History of the American Indians,' p. 108.

lating him upon his success, had good reason to write :—"The Carolina people, as well as every one else, must own that no one ever engaged the Indians so strongly in affection as yourself." *

American writers invariably speak with the warmest gratitude of the services rendered by Oglethorpe to their country, and a Georgian of comparatively recent times, in reference to this journey, says with no less truth than fervour :—"When we call to remembrance the then force of these tribes, the influence the French had everywhere else obtained over the Indians, the distance he had to travel through solitary pathways exposed to summer suns, night dews, and to the treachery of any single Indian who knew—and every Indian knew the rich reward that would have awaited him for the act from the Spaniards in St. Augustine or the French in Mobile—surely we may ask, what soldier ever gave higher proof of courage? What gentleman ever gave greater evidence of magnanimity? What English Governor of an American province ever gave such assurance of deep devotion to public duty?" †

The hardships of the return journey together with his mental anxiety were too much for even Oglethorpe's iron constitution; and he suffered for some days from a severe fever which detained him at Fort Augusta. At this outpost on the Savannah he had, on a former expedition, placed a garrison under whose

* Letter from Harman Verelst, Esq., Accountant to the Trustees, dated "March 29th, 1740."

† Spalding, 'Collections of the Georgia Historical Society,' vol. i. (1840), p. 263.

protection a considerable settlement chiefly inhabited by Indian traders was now established. Here he was visited by the chiefs of the Chickesaws and of the Cherokees; the last of whom grievously complained that some of their people had been poisoned by rum conveyed to them by the traders; on which the chiefs not only expressed resentment but threatened revenge. The General, having inquired into the matter, ascertained that during his absence in England some unlicensed traders had carried up the smallpox, which generally proves fatal to the Indians, and that several of them had fallen victims to the disease. It was with much difficulty he convinced the chiefs that this was the true cause of the calamity. He at the same time assured them that they need not fear any danger from those who came to them from Georgia, as none obtained permits from him or his deputy without the strictest precautions. Having thus pacified them, they went their way well satisfied.

On the 13th of September, while still at Fort Augusta, he received an express from Savannah informing him a sloop from Rhode Island had brought intelligence that the Governor of that province, by orders from England, had issued commissions for fitting out privateers against the Spaniards. This news surprised him not a little; for he could not conceive how a distant colony should have such instructions before they were sent to him who was more immediately subject to attack on a rupture with Spain.* However, he

* In anticipation of the declaration of war against Spain (October the 19th), the 'Tartar' pink was dispatched from England to inform the

hastened back to Savannah, where all were glad to see him so well and hearty after the dangerous illness he had lately gone through.

A critical emergency in the neighbouring colony in the meanwhile demanded his immediate attention. On his return from the interior he was met by an express from the Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina apprising him that a desperate revolt had broken out amongst the negroes of that province, who murdered many of the white inhabitants, burned several houses, and committed other serious depredations. They were induced to this by a proclamation which had been issued by the Governor of St. Augustine in January, when some slaves made their way thither; and the planters feared that many more would follow. The General Assembly sent a Committee to St. Augustine, demanding restitution of their property, and at their request Oglethorpe at the same time dispatched an officer with a letter to Don Manuel de Montiana, Captain-General of Florida, so as to give what countenance he could to their demand, in an amicable way.* His Excellency, however, while assuring the General of his sincere friendship, exhibited his orders from the Court of Spain to receive and protect all runaway slaves.

The outbreak in September followed; but on receipt of the Lieutenant-Governor's advice, Oglethorpe ordered a troop of rangers to patrol through Georgia

American provinces. She arrived at the coast of New England, whence messengers were sent overland to New York, Rhode Island, etc.

* Letter from Oglethorpe to the Duke of Newcastle, dated "Camp on St. Simon's, near the Soldier's Fort, in Georgia, February 23, 1739."

and intercept the fugitives, placed a garrison in the old fort at Palachicolas, near which they must pass, sent Indian runners in pursuit, directed a detachment from Port Royal to assist the planters upon the occasion, and published a proclamation commanding the constables and others to seize all negroes found within Georgia, and offering rewards for those captured. At this period South Carolina had 40,000 slaves, while the white population did not exceed one-eighth of that number; and but for the promptitude and vigilance of Oglethorpe, the colonists would, in all human probability, have been exterminated.*

The General, purposing to announce the declaration of war against Spain with due ceremony, gave orders that the freeholders of Savannah should be under arms at beat of drum on the 3rd of October, and that the magistrates in their gowns should be in the court-house at noon. On his arrival he took his seat upon the bench, when the militia, who had been drawn up to receive him, grounded their arms and came within doors. He then addressed the people suitably to the occasion. He commended the hearty cheerfulness which he had observed in all ranks, and assured them that he had taken effectual means to prevent any enemy coming upon their back from the west or south, and that, though the Province lay open to the sea, there were English frigates cruising along the coast for its protection, while he had some expectation of soon re-

* Letter from South Carolina, dated "October 2, 1739," in 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. x. p. 127, and M'Call's 'History of Georgia,' vol. i. p. 125.

ceiving additional land forces. He next informed his hearers of the instructions he had received from his Majesty's Secretary of State concerning the war, and concluded by recommending them to keep a watchful look-out for those negroes who had been seduced by the enemy from the sister colony, and who must needs pass through Georgia. On his return to his lodgings the cannon of the fort were discharged, and the freeholders "fired three handsome vollies with their small arms, as it were in defiance, without the appearance of any dread of the Spaniards."*

But Oglethorpe's attention was not exclusively engrossed by preparations for warfare. A few days later he commanded a general muster for a very different purpose. Having observed that since the Common had been cleared of trees abundance of shrubwood had sprung up, and that the public squares and other places were full of noxious weeds that harboured vermin, and which, if set on fire, might endanger the town, he issued orders over night that at sunrise next morning every male inhabitant, including boys of competent age, should set to work to get rid of the nuisance. He was cheerfully obeyed, and before nightfall, some with one instrument, and some with another, laid bare many acres. The General spent the day among them himself, and everybody without distinction took pains to do what he could. Oglethorpe not only derived pleasure from this disposition to obedience on the part of the people, but he at the same time attained another object; for in fact he meant the muster as a

* Stephens's 'Journal of Proceedings,' etc., vol. ii. p. 150–3.

kind of census, and he hereby ascertained that there were more than 200 persons in the town who were able to bear arms. At breakfast time he supplied them with plenty of bread and beer, and on leaving off work, highly delighted to see how large a tract they had cleansed, they had similar refreshment. As, however, there still remained nearly another day's work, the General ordered it to be done on the 5th of November, when they should have a finishing treat, and might make a bonfire.

Oglethorpe while at Savannah lost one of his most highly valued friends, the faithful Tomo Chichi. The venerable chief had nearly reached his hundredth year, and was sensible to the last. During his illness he exhibited the greatest magnanimity and resignation. Death had no terrors for him; and his only regret was being called away at so critical a time, when, if spared, he might be useful to the English in their coming struggle with the Spaniards. He displayed the strongest affection for Oglethorpe, and exhorted his people never to forget the General's kindness, nor the benefits they had received through him from the King. He desired to be buried in Savannah, as he had assisted in founding the town and had persuaded the Creeks to give the land. His remains were brought by water from Yamacraw, and were received at the landing-place by the Governor, magistrates, and people. The pall was borne by the General, Mr. Stephens, and four more gentlemen of the neighbourhood; and the body, followed by the Indian mourners, was carried into Percival Square, where it was interred with military honours.

Early in October the General dispatched runners to the Indian towns with orders for 400 Creeks and 600 Cherokees to march at once for the southern frontiers. Before leaving Savannah he examined the arms of the town militia, inspected the magazines, distributed ammunition, and, having learned that differences had arisen amongst the constables and other petty officers about their relative rank, he desired Mr. Stephens to rearrange the corps, of which he gave that gentleman the command. Oglethorpe being now empowered to make reprisals, granted letters of marque to one of the freeholders, a seafaring man named Davis, whom the Spaniards had previously plundered; and a stout privateer of twenty-four guns was fitted out at Savannah, and placed under the command of the said *Captain* Davis.

The British trade with America had for years suffered much loss and annoyance from the Spanish *guarda-costas*, which, under frivolous pretences, seized our merchant vessels and carried them into their ports, where they were invariably confiscated. These depredations were aggravated by the cruel treatment of our sailors, numbers of whom died from the privations they underwent in captivity. The people of England called loudly for redress, and the parliamentary Opposition denounced the minister who tamely saw his country exposed to such indignities. But Sir Robert Walpole being conscious of the advantage of peace to a commercial nation, endeavoured to obtain satisfaction by negotiation; and the preliminaries of a convention were signed at Pardo in January, 1739. Spain

agreed to pay a sum of money by way of compensation for the losses of British subjects; while, as regarded the territory in dispute between Florida and Georgia, it was arranged that the respective Governors should refrain from hostilities, and let matters remain as they stood until the boundaries should be settled by Commissioners appointed by each Court.* The convention was highly unpopular in England; and Spain, by neglecting to pay the stipulated sum at the appointed time, furnished Walpole, without abandoning his pacific principles, with a plausible pretext for declaring war. Admiral Haddock with a powerful fleet was therefore sent to cruise off the coast of Spain, Vernon was appointed to the command of a squadron in the West Indies, and Oglethorpe was ordered to annoy the Spanish settlements in Florida.

In consequence of the Duke of Newcastle's instructions, Oglethorpe had abstained from establishing any new posts, and also ceased to fortify his Colony; after which, "relying on the pacification with the Spaniards," he set out on his adventurous journey to Coweta. But on his return to Savannah, when he was informed of the violation of the convention, he immediately began to put the provinces of Carolina and Georgia in the best possible posture of defence. Soon after he had sent for his Indian allies, he raised a troop of Rangers to prevent the Spanish horse from succeeding in any attempts by land, and desired the men-of-war to cover the coast, while his

* Dispatch, dated "Whitehall, March 18, 1739," from the Duke of Newcastle to General Oglethorpe.

regiment protected the islands.* Having made these and many minor arrangements during his stay of six weeks in Savannah, on the 5th of November he departed for the south.

Oglethorpe, in consequence of his provisional treaty with the Governor of St. Augustine in 1736, then withdrew the outpost he had established on the island of St. George, near the entrance to the river St. John's. Since that period his most southerly look-out was on Amelia Island, where he stationed a scout-boat with a crew of sixteen men who relieved one another as the service allowed, those ashore employing themselves in cultivating their allotment while the others were on duty. To these men the General afterwards added a sergeant's guard; and, as some of the seamen and soldiers had families, there were now residing in the island about forty persons whose little settlement was protected with palisades and a battery of two or three guns. Early in November, a party of Spaniards landed by night upon the island and skulked in the woods. The man in command of the scout-boat, hearing several musket shots, made a signal to the fort, when the guard turned out, and found the bodies of two Highlanders who, having gone unarmed into the thicket, were brutally murdered. The cowardly assassins immediately fled and, though speedily pursued, succeeded in escaping by the boats in which they had come. On hearing of this outrage, Oglethorpe, soon after his return to Frederica, informed the Trustees as follows :—

* Letter to the Duke of Newcastle, dated "Savannah, Oct. 8, 1739."

"We have not so much as given the least provocation to the Spaniards as yet; but most manfully they surprised two poor sick men, cut off their heads, mangled their bodies most barbarously, and as soon as a party and boat appeared, which together did not make their number, they retired with the utmost precipitation. A number of scout-boats are absolutely necessary. The man-of-war stationed at Charlestown cannot be here. Since Captain Burridge went away we have had no man-of-war except Captain Fanshaw, and he did not stay above eight or ten days. The launches from Augustine can run into almost every inlet in the Province, therefore it is absolutely necessary that the Trustees should apply to Parliament for at least five ten-oared boats and a troop of rangers; otherwise there will be no possibility of the people's going out to plant, without being murdered as those Highlanders were. The French have attacked the Carolina Indians, and the Spaniards have invaded us. I wish it may not be resolved between them to root the English out of America. We here are resolved to die hard, and will not lose one inch of ground without fighting; but we cannot do impossibilities. We have no cannon from the King, nor any others but some small iron guns bought by the Trust. We have very little powder, no horse for marching; very few boats, and no fund for paying the men, but of one boat. The Spaniards have a number of launches, also horse, and a fine train of artillery well provided with all stores.

"The best expedient I can think of is to strike first. As our strength consists in men, and as the people of

the Colony as well as the old soldiers handle their arms well and are desirous of action, I think the best way is to make use of our strength, beat them out of the field, and destroy their plantations and out-settlements, in which the Indians, who are very faithful, can assist us; and to form the siege of Augustine, if I can get artillery. It is impossible to keep this Province or Carolina without either destroying Augustine, or keeping horse rangers and scout-boats sufficient to restrain their nimble parties. I must therefore again desire you would insist for our having an establishment of four ten-oared boats to the southward and one at Savannah, as well as a train of artillery, some gunners, and at least 400 barrels of cannon and 100 barrels of musquet powder with bullets proportionable. I am fortifying the town of Frederica, and I hope I shall be repaid the expenses, from whom I do not know. Yet I could not think of leaving a number of good houses and merchants' goods, and what is much more valuable, the lives of men, women, and children, in an open town, at the mercy of every party, and the inhabitants obliged either to fly to a fort and leave their effects, or suffer with them."

By way of retaliation for the attempt on Amelia, Oglethorpe determined as soon as he could collect a sufficient number of boats, to make an incursion into Florida. With a detachment of his regiment, the Highland rangers, a select body of Indians, some Georgian boatmen, and a few gentlemen cadets who begged the favour of accompanying him, he shortly afterwards embarked, and made for the St. John's.

Having taken and destroyed all the boats he found in that river, he landed and proceeded a day's march in the direction of St. Augustine. A troop of Spanish Horse and a company of Foot then showed themselves and were preparing to attack, but our Indians, raising their war-whoop, advanced to charge them, when the Horse galloped off to the town and the Foot took shelter in the fort of St. Diego, about three leagues from St. Augustine. Having reconnoitred thus far and finding none to oppose, he deemed it imprudent to remain longer, lest he might be intercepted on his return, and therefore retired to the island of St. George, where he repossessed himself of the fort which had formerly been his outpost, leaving a few men to watch the enemy. From thence he sent Lieutenant Dunbar with forty soldiers and ten Indians in order to discover the situation and strength of the forts higher up the river, and to destroy all the boats they could, so as to prevent the Spaniards from crossing the waters separating Florida from Georgia.* The General then returned to Frederica, and on the 29th of December, informed his brother-Trustees as follows:—

"Gentlemen,—There will be this year over and above your establishment, several expenses necessary for the preserving of the Colony. The small garrison of a captain and ten men at Fort Augusta will be necessary to be continued, since we cannot weaken the regiment by sending a detachment to so great a distance as three hundred miles. The regiment of Foot

* Letter to the Duke of Newcastle, dated "Frederica, January 22, 1740."

that is here is not sufficient to make war in the woods by land and overtake Indians or horsemen; therefore I have been obliged to call in our Indian allies. They have very readily assisted me, but whilst they lose their hunting and corn season for our defence, we are forced to give them food, arms, ammunition, and some clothing, which they would otherwise buy with skins which they get by hunting. Horsemen also I have been obliged to raise, and have ordered sixty Rangers.

"The settlements must all have been destroyed and the communication between the troops cut off when the Spaniards attacked Amelia, if I had not armed our boats, which I did in the cheapest manner, taking no more men upon hire than just enough to navigate them, and even saving this expense upon some by employing the Trust's Highland servants whom Mr. M'Intosh and Mr. Mackay had taught to row. The rest of the men are soldiers, to whom we only allow provisions during the time they are on board. Thus the Colony periagua is fitted out with four guns, rows with twenty men and carries twenty more, so that having forty men she is able to engage a Spanish launch, stands only in the wages of a commander, a patroon, and six men, the rest of the forty being soldiers of whom only them that row have provisions. By these boats I have drove the Spaniards out of the river St. John, and can, when I will, land in Florida, as well as protect this Colony and Carolina, which without them would be entirely exposed, as by the sad accident at Amelia, when we had only two boats in service, too plainly appeared.

"The forts that I built were run to ruin, being mostly of earth, having no means to repair them, and having also had orders not to fortify. Upon the hostilities being committed, I thought I should be answerable for the blood of these people before God and man, if I had left them open to be surprised by Spanish Indians, murdered in the night, and their houses burned, and if I did not take all proper means for their defence, they being under my charge. I therefore began to fortify Frederica and enclose the whole town, in which there are some very good houses. It is half a hexagon with two bastions, and two half-bastions and towers, after M. Vauban's method, upon the point of each bastion. The walls are of earth faced with timber, ten feet high in the lowest place, and in the highest thirteen, and the timbers from eight to twelve inches thick. There is a wet ditch ten feet wide and so laid out that, if we had an allowance for it, I can by widening the ditch, double the thickness of the walls and make a covered way. I hope in three months it will be entirely finished, and in that time not only to fortify here, but to repair the forts on Amelia and St. Andrews. The expense of the small above-mentioned works (which are all that I can now make) will not be great. Frederica will come within £500; St. Andrew's £400; and Amelia £100.

"I made an inroad into the Spanish Florida by the help of the boats, drove them to take shelter in their forts, and kept the field several days; parties of Indians killing their cattle, etc., even to a few miles of Augustine, but could not provoke them to fight. I

am going to make another inroad, and trust to God it will daunt them so that we shall have full time to fortify; and if the people of Carolina would assist us heartily we might take Augustine, to which these frequent inroads may pave the way; for they dishearten their people, make us acquainted with the country, and encourage the soldiers by living on the enemy's cattle and provisions. I hope if the Trustees will represent the necessity of the above expenses to Parliament, the House will grant to them sufficient to defray the estimates of them. Or if Parliament thinks this expense too much for the preserving this Colony, I hope they will withdraw both the colony and the regiment, since without these necessary preparations they will be exposed to certain destruction."

Oglethorpe on receiving orders from the home government to attack Florida, immediately communicated his instructions to the Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina. Learning soon afterwards that St. Augustine was short of provisions, he wrote to Charlestown urging the naval commander of that station to block up the enemy's harbour before supplies could be received from Cuba; and at the same time he dispatched an officer to concert measures with the provincial authorities for promptly besieging the fortress. The Lieutenant-Governor laid the General's letter before the Assembly; the Assembly appointed a Committee to consider the communication; the Committee made their Report; and the Report was discussed in both Houses. At length, after much deliberation, they required that the General should minutely explain the

nature and extent of the assistance he expected from them; and—ignoring the fact that Carolina was as vitally concerned as Georgia in the event—they further desired to be informed what benefit he conceived they might obtain, in case they should consent to grant their aid! *

His reply is contained in a long and explicit letter dated "Frederica, December 29th, 1739." It would be tedious to recite the details; suffice it to say his principal demand was for eight hundred pioneers with the necessary tools and an adequate supply of provisions and ammunition. He also thought the people of Carolina would do well to raise a troop of rangers and put them under the command of Captain M'Pherson, of Darien, an excellent officer. He purposed taking four hundred men of his own regiment, leaving the rest for the protection of Georgia. "Of the people of this Province," he explains, "I cannot draft many, because I must not leave the country naked; and, as they are poor, if they neglect their planting season, it will be difficult for them to subsist; therefore I would only raise two hundred, which is equal to the number of soldiers I shall leave behind." He hoped Carolina would contribute towards the pay of these men, and also furnish a share of the corn or rice necessary for the support of their Indian allies.

"This," he concludes, "is my opinion with relation to the preparations for dislodging the Spaniards at

* Harris, 'Rise, Progress, etc. of the Colony of Georgia,' in 'Collection of Voyages and Travels,' vol. ii. p. 338; and M'Call's 'History of Georgia,' vol. i. p. 143.

St. Augustine, without which we certainly cannot do it. The legislative power of Carolina will be the best judges of the service it will be to them. For my own part, I think that if we do not take this happy opportunity of attacking St. Augustine whilst it is weak, the Havanna being blocked up by our men-of-war, which renders them incapable of receiving succours from Cuba, all North America as well as Carolina and this province will feel it severely. As soon as the sea is free they will send a large body of troops from Cuba. You remember the account you sent to England of the preparations some time since made at Havanna; everything is there still, and if they should come up and land in Florida, we must then make a defensive war, and they may choose who they will attack separately. They may molest all North America with their privateers, and, if they can by any means get the start of the men-of-war, they can run into shoal water where they cannot be followed. I am willing myself to do all I possibly can for annoying the enemy as his Majesty has ordered; and shall spare no personal labour or danger towards freeing Carolina of a place from whence her negroes are encouraged to massacre their masters and are openly harboured after such attempts."

CHAPTER XIII.

JANUARY—JULY, 1740.

The Spaniards had lately erected a fort northward of the Lakes of Florida, which are merely expansions of the river called by the Indians Ylacco, by the Spaniards Rio San Mattheo o Picolata, and by the English St. John's. Formerly the river was known in England as St. Matthias; and, in the grant of King Charles II. to the Lords Proprietors, it is mentioned under that name as the boundary of Carolina. "This fort," writes Oglethorpe, "they called St. Francis; the building of which on the north side of St. Matthias was an absolute infraction of the treaties. But as it was of great service to the Government of St. Augustine, since it was the ferry over the river, and gave them an easy means to invade the Creek Indians or the Province of Carolina, and also to communicate with their fort at Apellachee, and thereby draw succours from Mexico, they preferred what was useful to what was just; and, in defiance not only of former treaties but the last con-

vention, went on with their fortifications at St. Francis as well as St. Augustine and St. Mark's, at the same time that, pursuant to his Majesty's orders, I was so particular in observing the convention as not even to repair the forts in this Province."*

Lieutenant Dunbar, whom the General had sent up the river in December, proceeded as far as Picolata, a fort which the Spaniards had for some time possessed on the south side. He also reconnoitred St. Francis, which he found to be very strong. Seeing only a few men at Picolata, he landed there, and attacked the fort, but having no artillery was obliged to withdraw.

"On his return to Frederica," continues Oglethorpe, "at the request of the Creek Indians, who had frequently complained to me of the building Fort St. Francis on their lands and in his Majesty's dominions, from whence the Spanish Indians could at pleasure harass them, I ordered all the boats to be ready, and with a detachment of the regiment, the Highland rangers, a strong body of Indians, and some pieces of cannon, I embarked on the 1st instant, and went up the river St. John's or St. Matthias, sending on the Indians before. They, on the 7th, surprised and burnt Picolata by daybreak. Two hours after, I came up with the rest of the body, and landing under the shelter of the woods near St. Francis, the Indians and Highland rangers commanded by Adjutant Hugh Mackay advanced under the shelter of the nearest woods, which were within musquet-shot of the fort. They kept a continual fire, which the Spaniards answered as briskly.

* Letter to the Duke of Newcastle, dated January 22, 1739–40.

"Whilst they were thus amused, I landed the regular troops, under the command of the Captains Mackay and Desbrisay, and the artillery under the care of Mr. Sandford Mace, sub-engineer, and made two little batteries sheltered with the wood, so as not to be discovered. The batteries were finished about 5 o'clock in the evening; then cutting away the wood that hid them from the fort, the cannon fired, and I sent to offer terms to the garrison; but they refusing to treat, the cannon fired a second time, upon which they surrendered prisoners of war. There was in the fort one mortar-piece, two carriage and three swivel-guns, ammunition proportionable, 150 shells, fifty glass bottles full of gunpowder, with fusees, etc., and provisions for two months. The place being very important as commanding the passes from Augustine to Mexico and into the country of the Creek Indians, and also being upon the ferry where the troops that come from Carolina by land to the siege of Augustine must pass, and being a good building, I left Adjutant Hugh Mackay with a good garrison there, and a guard-boat, and laid out an entrenchment round the fort, ordering him to finish it."*

Besides the above enumerated consequences of gaining this fort, runaway negroes from Carolina were thereby deprived of an easily reached asylum, which was so great a benefit to that province that it was hoped the Assembly would contribute liberally to

* Captain Hugh Mackay, in a letter to Colonel Cecil, dated "Frederica, January 24, 1740," adds,—"The General escaped very narrowly being killed by a cannon ball at Fort St. Francis."

strengthen the General's hands, so as to enable him to put both provinces out of all danger from St. Augustine for the future. "If the people of Carolina do their part," writes Captain Mackay, "or what their allegiance to their King and their own interests ought to induce them to do, he will be master of St. Augustine before May. But they have acted such a part hitherto, that, indeed, it is not to be expected from them. We want everything to form a siege, but a willingness in the small number the General has in this Colony."*

The information which Oglethorpe obtained from the prisoners he had taken confirmed the previous accounts from other sources as to the scarcity of provisions in St. Augustine; moreover, he learned that, the half galleys having been sent to Havannah for reinforcements and supplies, the seaboard was defenceless. Therefore conceiving that so favourable an opportunity for taking the enemy by surprise ought not to be lost, on his return to Frederica he sent an express to Lieutenant-Governor Bull urging immediate compliance with his application for assistance. The consideration of the subject was consequently renewed by the Assembly; and, at length, the General was requested to repair to Charlestown in order to settle the details with a Committee of Conference. He instantly took boat and rowed night and day through the Island Passages, stopping on his way only for an hour at Thunderbolt for the purpose of giving directions to Mr. Stephens, of Savannah, whom he had ordered to

* Letter as before.

meet him there. After many conferences with the Committee he wrote the Duke of Newcastle the following letter, in which it will be seen he places the conduct of South Carolina in the most favourable light:—

"CHARLESTOWN, *April* 1, 1740.

My Lord,—War being declared with Spain, and the Spaniards having killed some of our men, I took the forts of Picolata and St. Francis de Pupa from them, and several prisoners; and finding that the Spaniards at Augustine were in great disorder (the ship containing their pay, clothing, and other necessaries being taken), though the castle is strong, yet I thought this opportunity was not to be neglected. But having neither troops nor artillery sufficient to form a siege, the Assembly of South Carolina were so desirous of reducing Augustine (which whilst possessed by the Spaniards renders all their estates precarious), that they therefore voted £120,000 currency* for the assisting me in the siege, and invited me to this town, to which place I got with much difficulty, lying in an open boat for six days and nights, being obliged to row against the wind.

"I have concerted with Captain Pearse, Commodore of his Majesty's ships, the Lieutenant-Governor and Assembly of South Carolina, and Major Stuart, one of the Council of Providence. The Assembly came to the enclosed resolutions; and Commodore Pearse, who is extremely zealous and active in his Majesty's service, instantly dispatched Captain Laws in the 'Spence' sloop to Providence for mortars and powder out of the

* £15,000 sterling: one pound sterling being equal to eight pounds Carolina currency.

magazine there, and letters which I forwarded overland to Virginia for Sir Yelverton Peyton in the 'Hector' to come down to the siege. He ordered Captain Warren, who has distinguished himself on this occasion, to block up Augustine by sea till the siege begins. We expect a great body of Indians to our assistance. The Cherokees are already on the march with 500 men, and more are to follow; and I hope we shall have a larger assistance from the Creeks. The king of the Chickesaws has assured me he will come down with all his warriors. I am in great hopes of taking the town; there are 2000 odd hundred people, men, women, and children, in it. If I drive them into the castle, the being pestered with so many useless mouths will very probably make them surrender upon my bombarding the place. If not, in the Fall I would open trenches, in case his Majesty orders the same; but for that purpose more troops, 600 pioneers and ammunition of all kinds will be wanting, which if his Majesty pleases to order the Governor of New York to recommend to the Assembly there, they are very able to furnish.

"This province is very much reduced by sickness, revolts of negroes, and other accidents; yet the danger to them from Augustine is so great that they raise and maintain a regiment, a troop of Horse, and a large body of volunteers for that siege. But their credit being very low and their taxes very heavy, they could not find money for this expense, and I have been obliged to advance them £4000 sterling upon the credit of their future taxes, without which the siege could not be carried on. I hope that the zeal of the pro-

vince for his Majesty's service, and my poor endeavours, will meet with his Majesty's approbation; that your Grace will extend your protection to Carolina and recommend this province to his Majesty's favour; and that you will be pleased to favour this application."

The South Carolina Assembly, instead of the 800 pioneers, etc., for which Oglethorpe originally applied, on the 5th of April, passed an Act for raising a regiment of 400 men to be commanded by Colonel Vanderdussen, a troop of rangers, presents for the Indians, and provisions for three months.* Carolina also furnished an armed schooner, with a crew of fifty men. The General, having completed his arrangements in Charlestown, published his manifesto, and hastened back to Georgia to prepare his own forces for the expedition. On the 5th of April he reached Savannah, whence he set out for the Uchee town, beyond Ebenezer, and dispatched runners with orders to the more distant Indians to join him as soon as possible at Frederica. At three o'clock on the morning of the 14th, he returned in his cutter to Savannah; and, a few hours afterwards, having taken a little rest and conversed with those who had business with him, he departed for the south, whither he had ordered the periaguas and scout-boats to follow. On the last day of the month he reports progress as follows, to the Secretary of State:—

"My Lord,—Having received his Majesty's orders from your Grace to make an attempt upon the town

* As the rangers could not be procured in Carolina, the Assembly subsequently *voted* an addition of 200 men to their regiment, and prolonged the term of service to *four* months.

and castle of Augustine, with what number of men I could raise in Carolina, at Purrysburgh, and in Georgia, and also with what Indians I could be joined by, I have prevailed with the people of Carolina to raise and pay a regiment of 400 men, of which only twenty have yet joined me. I raise in Georgia one troop of Highland rangers on horseback, one troop of English rangers on horseback, one company of Highland foot, and one company of English foot, of which their establishments are enclosed. I have taken into service the sloops and boats mentioned in the enclosed schedule, besides those which come from Charlestown, being necessary for transporting the regiment, the other forces, and the Indians, with the provisions, etc., and for defending the rivers, which would otherwise be open to the insults of the Spanish half-galleys, which lately ventured to attack one of the King's ships under the command of Captain Warren, and afterwards saved themselves in shoal water. If Augustine is not taken, the row-boats are the only means of protecting the plantations upon the islands of Carolina from the Spanish half-galleys and launches; for, by putting on board them 100 men of the regiment we can fight their gallies in shoal water, or defeat their men if landed.

"Upwards of 100 Indians have already joined me; I expect 1000 in all. The presents and food for the Indians for four months will amount to, by computation, £7 sterling per head. I hope by these, with the assistance of the stores sent from the Office of Ordnance and his Majesty's ships, to give a very good account of

Augustine; though the place is much stronger and better garrisoned than I believe was represented at home. My chief dependence is upon the courage of his Majesty's subjects, and the bad situation of the enemy from the crowd of useless mouths, the non-effectives, and the discontent of the soldiers, some of whom are taken or desert daily and take on service with us. I hope your Grace will represent this matter in such a light to his Majesty that provision may be made for payment of the expenses incurred here upon this occasion."

At length, on the 9th of May, Oglethorpe with 400 of his own regiment, the horse rangers and foot he had raised in Georgia, and the Indians under Malachee, king of the Creeks, Raven, war-chief of the Cherokees, and Tooanahowi, successor to Tomo Chichi, assembled on the island of St. George, at the mouth of the St. John's. Next day they landed upon the Florida bank of the river; and, the General's first object being to take the forts which communicated with the interior, and thus to cut off supplies from the capital, he marched towards St. Diego. Encamping that night at a place called Lacanela, halfway to St. Augustine, he sent forward a detachment of Indians and light troops to invest the fort, arriving before which at daybreak, they attacked it with great vigour, but were compelled by the cannon to retire. The General, coming up at 10 o'clock in the morning, sent a body of Indians to drive all the cattle and horses in the neighbourhood before them. While he was viewing the works a troop of Spanish cavalry appeared; but, on being charged

and one or two of them wounded, they retreated. He then surrounded the fort, which was defended by several large guns and manned by fifty regular soldiers besides Indians and negroes.

Wishing to avoid unnecessary bloodshed he resorted to the *ruse* of causing three or four drums to beat at the same time in different parts of the woods, and a few men now and then to appear suddenly and again disappear. By these means the garrison were so confounded that, imagining they were beset by overwhelming numbers, they made but faint resistance, so that, on the morning of the 12th, when Oglethorpe sent one of his prisoners with a drummer to acquaint them with the kind treatment he and his companions received, they were willing enough to capitulate upon these terms:—That they should surrender as prisoners of war and deliver up the fort with the arms and stores, but retain their personal baggage and be protected from the vengeance of the Creeks, which they had good reason to dread; and that Don Diego Spinosa, who had built the fort on his own estate, should continue to hold his plantations, slaves, and such other effects as had not already been plundered; while all deserters and runaway negroes from Carolina, who were excluded from the benefit of capitulation, surrendered at discretion. When the prisoners had marched out, the General ordered Lieutenant Dunbar as Fort-Major, with three other officers and sixty men, to take possession of the fort, in which, besides ammunition and provisions, were seventy small arms which he gave to his Indian followers.

About a mile from the fort, which stood in the midst of a fine savanna, with fresh-water ponds, were some good houses, and in the neighbourhood were large farms with abundance of cattle, so that the invaders lived plentifully upon excellent roast-beef. No sooner however, was the fort re-manned than it was reported that a large party of Spanish cavalry were on the way to relieve it, and that further support was coming by water. The General, therefore, sending his Indians against the former, who speedily retreated, immediately marched towards the river, and at the landing-place found two large launches or half-galleys which had been forsaken by their crews after throwing the guns overboard. On his return to St. Diego, considering that the fort would form a safe retreat in case of misadventure on his advance to St. Augustine, and would likewise serve to keep open his communication with Georgia, he marked out an additional entrenchment and other works to be made there; and, leaving the rest of the detachment to guard the prisoners and follow him at their leisure, he returned to the rendezvous at St. George's.

Here he was joined by a company of Highlanders under Captain M'Intosh, and by Colonel Palmer with one hundred volunteers from Carolina, but neither Vanderdussen nor his regiment had yet made their appearance. On the 15th he repassed the St. John's with all the assembled troops, artillery, and baggage, and formed a camp on the Florida shore near the mouth of the river; and in the afternoon he accompanied the Highlanders and a detachment of his own regiment

under Captain Mackay, who marched as a convoy with provisions to Fort Diego. On their way a band of hostile Indians fired upon them from a wood, and killed a servant who was leading the General's horse. Oglethorpe heading the Highlanders immediately entered the wood, but though they pursued for a considerable distance, the Indians escaped. They, however, seized thirty horses and took possession of several houses which, being spacious and good buildings fit for the purposes of an hospital, were preserved from burning; and at night they reached St. Diego, having marched thirty-six miles that day.*

Before the Carolina regiment arrived, the General learned that six Spanish galleys with two hundred men, accompanied by two sloops laden with provisions and ammunition, had got into St. Augustine. This was a sore disappointment to him, for he expected that the fleet would have prevented the entrance of all succours by sea. He returned to the camp on the 18th, on which day Commodore Pearse with the 'Flamborough,' and Captain Fanshaw with the 'Phœnix,' anchored near the bar; the Commodore having left Sir Yelverton Peyton in the 'Hector' and Captain Warren in the 'Squirrel,' to block up the southern entrance to the harbour. Next day Oglethorpe went on board the 'Flamborough.' On his return ashore after a conference with the Commodore, he found that Colonel Vanderdussen with less than the full complement of his regiment had at last arrived. About midnight some Indians came to inform the General that Fort

* MS. Journal in collection of Georgian Correspondence, etc.

Diego had been attacked, whereupon he marched thither with a strong body, but found the alarm was a false one occasioned by the garrison clearing their pieces from the rain. Being there however, he marked out the site of a new encampment, and then went back to the river to order the camp there to be broken up, and to prepare all his forces for their advance towards St. Augustine.

The city of St. Augustine is situated on the shore of Matanzas Sound, about a league from the ocean, from which it is sheltered by the long and narrow island of Anastatia. It stands on the edge of an extensive plain not much above the level of the sea; and the harbour which has two approaches, is safe and commodious, but the bars prevent the entrance of large ships. The castle, in the year 1740, was a regular work built of soft stone, having an internal square of sixty yards, and four bastions. The parapet was nine feet thick; the rampart was casemated beneath, arched over, and newly-made bomb-proof; and the counterscarp of a wide and deep ditch was faced with stone. Fifty cannon of various calibre were mounted within the castle, while the town was fortified by an entrenchment, with salient angles, redoubts, etc.; and the garrison comprised one hundred cavalry, the same number of artillerymen, detachments from the regiments of the Asturias, Catalonia, Valencia, and Murcia, with three Independent Companies of one hundred men each, besides local militia, armed negroes, friendly Indians, and convict labourers; making altogether above two thousand fighting men.

The defenders of the castle and town were therefore quite as numerous as all the land force which Oglethorpe could bring against them, while their artillery was vastly superior. He could not enter upon a formal siege, for he had neither a sufficient number of troops to invest the place, pioneers, nor other means of carrying on approaches; and any attempt to take it by assault upon the land side must not only be unsuccessful but cause unnecessary bloodshed, unless a simultaneous attack could be made on the water side. It was consequently determined that as soon as the fleet had arrived off the bar of the north channel, Oglethorpe should march to St. Augustine, with his whole force of about two thousand men, and give notice by a preconcerted signal, that he was ready to begin the assault, when the ships by a counter-signal were to inform him that they likewise were prepared.

The General marched accordingly, and on his way took Fort Moosa—within three miles of St. Augustine—which, on his approach, had been abandoned by the garrison, who retired into the town. He ordered the gate of this fort to be burned, and three breaches to be made in the walls, lest—as he playfully but too prophetically said—"it might one day or other be a mouse-trap for some of our own people;"* and on the 4th of June arrived near the entrenchment on the western side of the town. As soon as he had completed his arrangements he made the signal agreed upon, but to his utter surprise had no countersign from the fleet;

* Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Heron, in a letter dated "24th September, 1742."—Georgia Correspondence, Record Office.

because, as the Commodore subsequently stated, the Spanish galleys were drawn up abreast between the castle and the island, so that any boats or small vessels which might have been sent into the channel must be exposed to their fire as well as to that of the batteries; and, as no ships of force could follow in support, the party would certainly be defeated, if not wholly destroyed.

The General, disappointed in his project of taking the place by storm, still hoped with the assistance of the fleet to turn the siege into a blockade, by closing every avenue through which the town could possibly receive supplies. With this view, the ships being moored outside the bars, he returned to Fort Diego, where he had left his artillery and heavy baggage, and ordered Colonel Palmer with about 100 Highlanders and 40 Indians to advance towards Fort Moosa, there to show themselves, and afterwards scour the woods, so as to cut off all communication between St. Augustine and the interior of the country. He at the same time enjoined upon Palmer to keep a strict watch, and for greater safety to encamp every night at a different place; by all means to avoid coming into action; and, should he perceive a superior force issuing from the town, to retire to St. Diego, where the enemy would fear to pursue him, lest they might be intercepted by an English detachment. He then sent Colonel Vanderdussen with the Carolina regiment to take possession of a neck of land called Point Quartell, about a mile from the castle, and erect a battery commanding the strait forming the northern entrance to the harbour.

The Spaniards having a battery on Anastatia, the Commodore promised that, if they were deprived of it, he would send in a number of small vessels. The General, therefore, with part of his own regiment and some Indians, accompanied by Captain Warren and a body of seamen, embarked in the boats of the men-of-war. Perceiving that the enemy were advantageously posted behind sand-hills, covered by the island battery and by the galleys which lay in shoal water, he ordered the troops in the heavy boats to make a feint of landing, while he and Captain Warren with the Indians and some sailors rowed on about two miles to the southward. The Spaniards pursued along the shore, but before they could come up, Oglethorpe, Warren, and their followers made for the bank, jumped into the water breast-high, landed, and took possession of the sand-hills. The Spaniards then fled towards their battery, but were so closely pressed that they were driven into the sea, and took shelter on board the galleys.

From this place, which lay directly opposite the castle, Oglethorpe now resolved to bombard St. Augustine; therefore leaving the Georgia companies and the Indians at St. Diego and in the neighbourhood of Fort Moosa to guard the land side of the town, he removed his regular troops and the Carolina regiment to the island. All hands were then busily employed in constructing new works, and, as soon as everything was ready, Oglethorpe summoned the Governor to surrender; but the Spanish Don, confident in the security of his stronghold, answered that he should be happy to

shake hands with him in the castle of St. Augustine. The General immediately opened his batteries and threw a number of shells into the town. The fire was returned with equal spirit by the fortress and the galleys; but the distance was so great that the cannonade, though it was kept up for several days, did little execution on either side.

Meanwhile a heavy calamity befell the invaders in a different quarter. Colonel Palmer, in spite of the General's orders to keep moving about from one place to another, had shut himself up with his detachment in Fort Moosa.* The Spaniards knowing that Oglethorpe was upon the island, and that the fort, from its dilapidated condition, was defenceless, on the night of the 14th of June sent out from St. Augustine a body of 600 men. At dawn next morning they surrounded the battered pile, and by dint of vastly superior strength, notwithstanding the utmost resistance from the penned up garrison, slaughtered about one-half of their number, and, except a few who almost miraculously escaped, captured the rest. Colonel Palmer of Carolina, an old Indian warrior of great personal bravery but little judgment, was the first who fell. Several of the Highland rangers, though they fought like lions, also lost their lives; while their brave

* "The orders," writes an officer who served under him, "were just, and might with safety be executed had a regular officer commanded; but poor Colonel Palmer, whose misfortune it was to have a very mean opinion of his enemies, would by no means be prevailed upon to leave the old fort, but staid there, thinking the Spaniards durst not attack him."—Letter from Ensign Hugh Mackay to his brother in Scotland, "August 10, 1740."

Captain, John Moore M'Intosh, having been severely wounded, was taken prisoner, and lingered long in captivity at St. Sebastian.

Amongst those captured was an Indian named Nicolhausa, whom the Spaniards, according to their wont, delivered over to their allies the Yamasees to be tortured and burned alive. Whereupon Oglethorpe sent a drum with a message from the chief of the Cherokees to the Governor, acquainting him that if he permitted Nicolhausa to be burned, a Spanish horseman who had been taken should suffer the same fate. The General at the same time wrote to Don Montiano, requesting him to prohibit the barbarous usage of the country, adding that otherwise he should be forced to resort to retaliation, which his Excellency must know he was well able to make, since his prisoners were much more numerous than those in the hands of the Spaniards. The Governor consequently ordered Nicolhausa to be spared, and it was agreed upon both sides that in future all Indian captives should be treated as prisoners of war. Oglethorpe at all times did everything in his power to curb the natural barbarity of his own Indian followers. It is related that, shortly after the above incident, one of the Chickesaws, whom he had won over from the French, having taken a Spaniard, cut off his head and brought it as a trophy to the General, who spurned the savage with abhorrence, and calling him a barbarous dog, bade him begone. The Indian indignantly replied that a French officer would have treated him very differently upon such an occasion; and it is added, that the Chickesaws showed

their dislike to Oglethorpe's humanity by soon afterwards forsaking his cause.*

The Commodore having ordered off the man-of-war which had been for some time stationed outside the bars of Matanzas sound, several sloops from the Havannah, with provisions and a large reinforcement of troops entered the channel and got into St. Augustine. All hope of starving the garrison, who by this time were greatly distressed from want of supplies, was therefore at an end.† As a last resort it was determined, on the 23rd of June, that Captain Warren with the boats of the fleet, two sloops hired by the General, and the Carolina vessels with their militia should attack the half-galleys in the harbour, while Oglethorpe should make a simultaneous attempt upon the entrenchments on the land side. Having therefore removed his own regiment from the island, called in the Creek Indians, and sent for the garrison he had left at Fort Diego, he made a sufficient number of ladders, fascines, etc., brought up six and thirty cohorns, and provided himself with every other available requisite for the assault. Instead, however, of the signal he anxiously looked for, he received notice from the Commodore—whose discretion throughout was more conspicuous than his valour—that it had been resolved to forego the attack, for the hurricane season being at hand it was deemed

* 'The Territory of Florida,' by J. L. Williams. New York, 1837, p. 184.

† Information concerning the condition of St. Augustine, by an escaped prisoner, showing that the people and garrison were reduced to great distress before they received the second supply, and that their convicts were mutinous.—Original, in Record Office.

imprudent to hazard his Majesty's ships by remaining any longer upon the coast.

Long before the departure of the fleet the Carolina troops proved turbulent and disobedient. Not one of them was killed by the enemy, though their number was reduced by fourteen deaths arising from sickness and accidents. They rendered little or no service to the cause in which they were concerned, and many of them deserted.* The brunt of the work consequently fell upon the General's regiment and the Georgia companies, who were now so enfeebled by fatigue and the heat of the climate, that nothing remained to be done but to effect a safe retreat. On the 5th of July the artillery and stores on Anastatia were brought off, and the men crossed over to the mainland. Next day the Carolina corps, with Vanderdussen at their head, began their disorderly march towards the St. John's, while the Georgia regiment with their Colonel remained behind, within half-cannon-shot of the castle. The manner in which Oglethorpe secured the retreat is thus briefly described by himself:—

"The Spaniards made a sally, with about 500 men, on me who lay on the land side. I ordered Ensign

* Ramsay's 'History of South Carolina,' and Stephens's Journal. The latter adds:—"Most of the gay volunteers ran away by small parties, basely and cowardly, as they could get boats to carry them off during the time of greatest action. And Captain Bull, a son of the Lieutenant-Governor, who had the command of a company in that regiment, most scandalously deserted his post when upon duty, and, not staying to be relieved regularly, made his flight privately, carrying off four men of his guard with him, and escaped to Charlestown; for which he ought in justice to have been tried as a deserter; but he was well received at home."—Vol. ii. p. 462.

Cathcart with twenty men, supported by Major Heron and Captain Desbrisay, with upwards of 100 men to attack them; I followed with the body. We drove them into the works and pursued them to the very barriers of the covered way. After the train and provisions were embarked and safe out of the harbour, I marched with drums beating and colours flying, in the day, from my camp near the town to a camp three miles distant, where I lay that night. The next day I marched nine miles, where I encamped that night. We discovered a party of Spanish horse and Indians whom we charged, took one horseman and killed two Indians; the rest ran to the garrison. I am now encamped on St. John's river, waiting to know what the people of Carolina would desire me farther to do for the safety of these provinces, which I think are very much exposed to the half-galleys, with a wide extended frontier hardly to be defended by a few men."*

* From dispatch to the Secretary of State, dated "Camp on St. John's in Florida, 19th July, 1740."

CHAPTER XIV.

AUGUST—DECEMBER, 1740.

Ogletʜorpe, in his dispatch of the 19th of July, pointing out the circumstances which led to the failure of his late enterprise, wrote as follows:—"I acquainted your Grace that the Assembly of Carolina had voted an assistance of one regiment, etc. for besieging St. Augustine; but it was so late before they got all things ready that the month of May was come in before we got to the rendezvous, whereas we ought to have taken the field in March. I undertook the siege because St. Augustine in January was scarce of food, the castle had no covered-way, the entrenchments round the town were weak; and if the town was taken and the people drove into the castle, a bombardment would soon oblige them to surrender for want of provisions. The troops of the garrison were not complete, and a great number of transport [convict] pioneers were in the place desirous to desert.

"I then laid it down to the people of Carolinathat

they should take advantage of that circumstance and immediately invest the town, or at least stop up their communication by sea, which if they did not, succours would come from the Havanna; they would fortify the town, and a bombardment then would be of little service, since the inhabitants would have large room to avoid it, and the season of the year would oblige the men-of-war to go off the coast, and the troops to retire from the heats or perish with sickness. After I left Charlestown and before we could invest the place, the half-galleys got in from Cuba; we had no pioneers to open trenches, no engineers but Colonel Cook and Mr. Mace, no bombardiers nor gunners that understood the service, and no sufficient train. After April the Spaniards pardoned the transports and completed the garrison with them, and entrenched the town strongly towards the land."

But, though the expedition failed to attain the special object for which it was undertaken, it was nevertheless attended by beneficial consequences, not to Georgia, indeed, so much as to South Carolina: for it kept the Spaniards a long time on the defensive and the scene of warfare at a distance, so that the Carolinians felt none of its effects, except through privateers, until the invasion of Georgia in 1742, and even then they suffered only from their fears.

Meanwhile Oglethorpe, after he had reached the camp on the St. John's, applied to Colonel Vanderdussen for one hundred men, to enable him to keep possession of the river and of the forts he had taken from the enemy; but he could not obtain a single man.

On the other hand, the General had to provide many of Vanderdussen's men with food; for a Captain of the Carolina regiment, who deserted with his company, had sailed in the vessel containing the supplies for the whole corps.* The rest lost no time in returning homewards. On the 30th of July a schooner with eighty of them on board passed Thunderbolt, on the way to Charlestown; and on the 6th of August, Vanderdussen himself visited Savannah. Mr. Stephens, in conversation with the Colonel, found him as ready as others to condemn the dastardly behaviour of the runaway volunteers, and to express resentment against the ill-conduct of some of his own officers. Vanderdussen at the same time declared that he was himself on very good terms with the General, of whom he spoke with all honour and deference.

In Charlestown, however, the most illiberal reflections were cast upon Oglethorpe's conduct during the whole enterprise. The newspapers were rife with the most bitter invectives against him; not one of his measures escaped animadversion or misrepresentation; and every silly babbler pointed out a plan which if pursued must have been successful. Yet the truth is that, under all the circumstances, there were but few Generals who could have conducted the enterprise with more skill. Taking into view that he had only four hundred regular soldiers; that the remainder were undisciplined militia and Indians; and that his enemy was secured by an impenetrable castle, well manned and provided, it is really astonishing that he returned

* Lieutenant-Colonel Heron's letter, as before.

without suffering a defeat and that he preserved his little army from destruction. A high military authority, John, Duke of Argyle, in reference to the subject, thus addressed the House of Peers:—"One man there is, my Lords, whose natural generosity, contempt of danger, and regard for the public prompted him to obviate the designs of the Spaniards, and to attack them in their own territories; a man whom by long acquaintance I can confidently affirm to have been equal to his undertaking, and to have learned the art of war by a regular education, who yet miscarried in the design only for want of supplies necessary to a possibility of success."*

But the hero of Carolina was Vanderdussen, in whose praise the most fulsome and mendacious addresses were delivered by "Honourable" Members of the Assembly; and the poor Colonel of Militia was so puffed up by flattery that he was subsequently instigated to apply for a commission in the Royal Army.

On the 29th of August, Oglethorpe wrote from Frederica to the Duke of Newcastle:—"The succours from Carolina and the ships of war are gone from us, and the Indians according to custom returned home. Four Indians taken by the Spaniards were released by them on condition to carry letters to the Governor of St. Mark's, out of which I send your Grace the essential paragraph.† I hope you will recommend this pro-

* Parliamentary Debates, 1741.

† This paragraph from the letter to Don Diego Pablo de Escobar states that seven vessels had arrived with provisions, etc., and that they now had sufficient for a whole year. Reinforcements also for vast undertakings were expected at St. Augustine.—Translation: Georgia Papers.

vince to his Majesty's protection, which will suffer very much if not timely supported. I have for the present made what preparations my poor abilities would let me, and hope the public will support them."

On the same day he writes to Andrew Stone, Esq., Under Secretary :—"It is necessary for me to make several expenses to preserve this Province, particularly fortifying, etc. This I am forced to do by paying, for which I must draw upon England. You will see the estimate amongst the papers. Necessity of protecting the province will force me to finish the entrenchments round this place. It would be a sad thing to have a province abandoned and the people, at least the improvements, destroyed. If I can complete the Rangers and Highland Foot again, and get men to man the armed sloops, boats, and schooners, I do not doubt to keep the province, notwithstanding what the Governor of Augustine says in his intercepted letter. I must beg you in proper season to drop a word in my favour for reimbursement. I would not trouble you only I know your good inclination to favour those who sacrifice their interest for the public safety; and do not desire you to speak at any season but when it will be agreeable." *

Early in September Mr. Stephens visited Frederica, and learning on his arrival that the General was in a weak state of health, he left his packets and asked permission to wait upon him next morning. Whereupon Oglethorpe sent him a bottle of wine and a bottle of cider; and the best compliment Mr. Stephens could

* Georgia Correspondence: Record Office.

make him in return was to acquaint him that he had a bottle of *Savannah* wine at his service. Next day Stephens was admitted and kindly received; "but," he says, "I wished to have found his Excellency in better health, for a lurking fever that hanged on him for a long time past had worn away his strength, so that he indulged himself pretty much in his bed, and seldom came downstairs; but retained still the same vivacity and spirit in appearance to all whom he talked with, though he chose to converse with very few." Mr. Stephens also paid a visit to the officers at their camp on the south-east point of St. Simon's. Four companies were stationed here, and the other two companies were encamped at Frederica, without the lines of the town. He was glad to see that the men had recovered from the sickness which they brought with them from St. Augustine; very few of them being now unfit for service, and the companies wanting little more than a fifth part to recruit the whole. After nine or ten days, the General growing stronger began to talk more closely of business with Mr. Stephens, who having gone through what was necessary, had the pleasure of leaving him in a much better state of health than he had found him.*

Oglethorpe had now a brief peaceful interval, of which he sedulously availed himself by directing his attention to the internal government and improvement of his Province; "And many a monument," says a Georgian writer a quarter of a century ago, "yet remains to show the ability and zeal with which he did

* 'Journal of Proceedings,' etc., vol. ii. pp. 494–96.

so."* War had called him from Savannah; and, as the danger threatened from the south, in order to be near the frontier in case of invasion, he settled at Frederica, then a flourishing town with about a thousand inhabitants. All he had done at Savannah, according to the same local authority, showed the science that enlightened his mind, and the taste that presided over it. At Frederica his object was different; he was establishing a military post, and had to compact his means. There were no extended squares nor broad streets; but an esplanade and parade ground. To the south of the fort the streets were about forty feet wide; and the houses were all either of brick or *tabby*, the best and readiest material for the erection of permanent buildings at moderate expense.*

St. Simon's was almost entirely covered with a dense forest of oak, none of which had been cut away, except at Frederica and the south end of the island, where two or three hundred acres had been cleared and laid out in small lots for the use of the troops encamped near a village called Little St. Simon's, and the men who occupied the Soldiers' Fort. In describing the road made immediately after the General's arrival in 1738, to connect this fort with Frederica, it was stated that on emerging from the town, it passed, for the distance of a mile, through a beautiful prairie. On the edge of

* Spalding. 'Collections of the Georgia Historical Society.'

† *Tabby* is a compound of lime, sand, and shells or pebbles in equal proportions, mixed with water. This was the material which Oglethorpe employed in most of his civil and military structures. In Spain there are walls of this kind which have resisted the elements for centuries.

this plain, which was the common pasture-land, near the seashore and just where the highway entered the wood, Oglethorpe established his own humble homestead, consisting of a cottage, a garden, and an orchard of oranges, figs, grapes, and other fruits. In the rear the house was overshadowed by evergreen oaks, while the front commanded a view of the town and its fortifications, as well as of the Sound.* Here the General could occasionally enjoy a quiet retreat, and at the same time watch the progress of his rising defences, while he was ready, at a moment's warning, for active service. Many of his officers had residences in the neighbourhood, and some of them were far more pretentious, especially that of Captain Raymond Demeré, a Huguenot of considerable fortune, much of which he spent upon his country seat. This was ornamented in a style more agreeable to French than to English taste, and was enclosed with hedges of orange and cassina plants. Several German families also had established themselves in the same quarter.

Frederica, which was situated on the west or inland side of the island, stood on a high bluff, the marshy shore of which was washed by a bay formed by a reach

* "This cottage and fifty acres of land attached to it was all the landed domain General Oglethorpe reserved to himself; and after the General went to England, it became the property of my father, so that I am only describing a scene travelled over by infant footsteps and stamped upon my earliest recollections. After the Revolutionary war, the buildings being destroyed, my father sold this little property; but the oaks were only cut down within four or five years past, and the elder people of St. Simon's yet feel as if it were sacrilege, and mourn their fall."—Thomas Spalding. 'Collections of Georgia Historical Society' (1840), vol. i. p. 273.

of the Alatamaha before passing to the ocean through Jekyll Sound. The town, which was laid out in streets named after the officers of Oglethorpe's regiment, was altogether about a mile and a half in circumference, including the camp on the north side, the parade on the east, and a small wood on the south which served as a blind to the enemy in case of attack from ships coming up the river. There were two gates, called the Town and the Water Posts; the fort was strongly built of tabby; and several eighteen-pounders, mounted on a ravelin in front, commanded the river, while the land side was protected by a deep entrenchment which admitted the tide.

At the village of St. Simon's, on the south point of the island, was a watch-tower to discover vessels at sea. Upon such a discovery alarm-guns were fired, according to the number of sail, and a horseman was dispatched to head-quarters with the particulars. On the mainland, at Bachelor's Redoubt, a look-out was kept by a party of rangers; a corporal's guard was stationed at a place called Pike's Bluff; and, to facilitate the communication with Darien, a canal was cut through "The General's Island." Defensive works were also constructed on Jekyll Island, where Oglethorpe erected a brewery for the purpose of supplying the troops with beer. On Cumberland Island was a battery to protect the inland navigation; there was another battery at St. Andrew's Sound; and on the south end of the same island stood Fort William, a work of considerable regularity and strength, commanding the entrance to St. Mary's. Seldom has mind, with such limited

means, more forcibly evinced its power. And it will be seen that it was to the great ability shown in the disposition of these works that, not only Georgia, but Carolina, owed their preservation; for, as it has been observed, St. Simon's was destined soon to become the Thermopylæ of the southern Anglo-American provinces.*

But while Oglethorpe was labouring for the public good, the malcontents of Savannah, under the leadership of a Doctor Tailfer, were as busily endeavouring to ruin the Province. Their schemes were chiefly directed to the obstruction of a respectable population in the colony, until the Trustees should be forced, by its dwindling into weakness and insignificance, to gratify the eagerness of the most worthless of the people for slaves and spirituous liquors, so that they might indulge to the extent of their wishes in idleness and dissipation. Tailfer and Williamson—the successful rival of John Wesley—hoped by their agitation to obtain a monopoly of the trade in negroes; but, finding themselves mistaken, they resorted to the most malicious revenge. The Doctor and his associates formed themselves into a club which met at the house of one Jenkins, where they concocted their vile machinations. The professed object of this club was to inquire into grievances in order to get them redressed by such means as their wisdom should devise; and thither resorted every malcontent who believed himself more deserving than his neighbours. To disturb the quiet of Savannah and keep the minds of the

* Spalding. 'Collections of the Georgia Historical Society,' vol. .

people in a perpetual flutter these demagogues got up horse-races within the town. They hired the most miserable hacks they could procure, and readily obtained riders who for payment in drink contributed to their mischievous diversion. The race-course was from the gate of the Public Garden to the middle of Johnson's Square; and the members of the Club were the principal betting-men.

Not content with such trifling sport as this, several scurrilous pamphlets were printed at Charlestown, under the auspices of the Club. One of these was sarcastically dedicated "To his Excellency James Oglethorpe," etc. etc. In the Dedication, which occupies several pages, the writer says:—"You have protected us from ourselves, by keeping all earthly comforts from us; you have afforded us the opportunity of arriving at the integrity of the primitive times, by entailing a more than primitive poverty upon us. . . . The valuable virtue of humanity is secured to us by your care to prevent our procuring, or so much as seeing any negroes (the only human creatures proper to improve the soil), lest our simplicity might mistake the poor African for greater slaves than ourselves; and, that we might fully receive the benefit of those wholesome austerities, you have denied us the use of spirituous liquors, which might at least divert our minds from the contemplation of our happy circumstances."

But the Dedication, compared with the pamphlet itself, is gentle in its censures; for the writer, unable to retain the mask of irony, descends to the coarsest

abuse. The author (doubtless Tailfer) is said by M'Call to have been a man of but little property and bad reputation, soured in his temper because he was not humoured in an alteration of the constitution, or granted exclusive privileges to the subversion of the objects of the Trustees in their plan for settling the colony, before their experiments could be fully tried. Tailfer was turbulent from an early period, and his daily employment was to misrepresent the public measures, disperse scandal, and incite discontent. Suffice it to say, the Club was dissolved in September, 1740, when the Doctor and his crew migrated to Charlestown. "The fear of the Spaniards," says Stephens, "was what drove them away."

A better known and in every respect superior man, though an agitator, too, in his way, now demands our notice. The Rev. George Whitefield first visited Georgia in the year 1738, and, after a few months' stay, returned to England, to obtain priest's orders and collect funds for the erection of an Orphanage. Having been presented by the Trustees to the living of Savannah and obtained from them a grant of five hundred acres for the support of the destitute orphan children of the Province, he again visited Georgia in January, 1740. He had made himself so remarkable in Great Britain that in America persons of all sorts flocked to hear him preach. He inveighed against the clergy of the day as "slothful shepherds, dumb dogs," etc., who drove the people dreaming on in carnal security to destruction; and said, he was firmly persuaded that very few of the learned Doctors for an age or

more past could ever see Heaven. On his first visit to Charlestown, an episcopalian clergyman, named Alexander Garden, took occasion to point out the pernicious tendency of Whitefield's doctrines, and represented him as a religious quack who had an excellent knack of disguising and rendering palatable his poisonous tenets; but Whitefield retorted with double acrimony and greater success. While Garden expatiated on the text—"Those who have turned the world upside down are come hither also," Whitefield, with all the force of that indecorous humour of which he was master, enlarged upon the words:—"Alexander the coppersmith hath done me much evil; the Lord reward him according to his works." Thus was the pulpit perverted into an instrument of spite and recrimination.

At Savannah, Whitefield charged the Rev. Mr. Norris, whom he came to supersede, with preaching erroneous doctrine. Norris, in reply, alleged that he had received double orders from the Bishop of London, and upon strict examination before his Lordship had given a full and satisfactory account of his faith; whereupon Whitefield declared that the Bishop (Dr. Edmund Gibson) knew no more of Christianity than Mahomet or an infidel, and that his 'Economy of Redemption,' as well as Archbishop Tillotson's works, and 'The Whole Duty of Man,' had sent thousands of souls to hell.* As to Norris himself, Whitefield told

* Whitefield mentions that it was John Wesley who originated the charge against Tillotson's works. (See 'Political State of Great Britain,' vol. lx. p. 11.) It is also said that, to show his own aversion to

him, he was at work for the Devil; though all the faults that could be charged against his private conduct were that he played on the fiddle, took a hand at cards with the ladies, and kept polite company! Whitefield, considering the pulpit too limited a sphere, went to court to harangue the grand jury,—one of whom kept a "housekeeper;" and he assured them that the slow progress of the colony was owing to God's not permitting it to prosper while such wickedness was suffered to remain unpunished.

He soon commenced the building of the Orphan-house, which was situated on a sandy bluff near the sea-shore a few miles from Savannah. On the 4th of February he met the magistrates by appointment, to consult about the orphans' affairs, when a dispute arose between him and Mr. Parker, one of the town magnates, who had with him two boys named Tondee whose guardianship Whitefield claimed. The elder being a well grown lad of fifteen or sixteen years, Parker very justly represented that having maintained him during his childhood it would be unfair to take him away now that he was capable of rendering some service in return. To which Whitefield replied:—"The boy is so much the fitter for my purpose, as he can be employed for the benefit of the other orphans." The issue was that poor Parker lost his temper, and his opponent carried away both boys.

Oglethorpe, however, considered that Whitefield ex-

'The Whole Duty of Man,' he made one of his boys throw a copy of that famous book into the fire, with signs of great detestation.—'Journal of Proceedings in Georgia,' vol. ii. p. 320.

ceeded the Trustees' design, in removing strong lads who might not only be serviceable to their masters, but whose labour would likewise be beneficial to the colony, particularly during the present planting season; and, in one instance, at least, he felt himself called upon to interfere. An upright, industrious man named Mellidge, who was one of the first forty freeholders of Savannah, at his death left several young children, towards whom the General showed particular favour. After a few years the eldest boy, proving an intelligent, diligent youth, became useful to his good patron who employed him as occasion required. The eldest girl, also, having become capable of managing a home and taking care of the younger children, in the spring of 1740, the General, intending to show what might be expected from boys if encouraged and well looked after, induced John Mellidge to try what he could do in the way of planting. It happened that about the same time Whitefield arrived with the power given him by the Trustees to take the destitute orphans of the colony into his charge. He consequently removed the younger Mellidges, and John complained to his protector of the grievance. Oglethorpe, who was then at Frederica, not seeing why the family should be separated when in a position to shift for themselves without being any public incumbrance, sent orders to Mr. Jones, at Savannah, to carry the children back to their brother, and at the same time expressed his sentiments upon the subject in the following sensible letter to that gentleman :—

" Sir,—As for Mellidge's brothers, I think your re-

presentation is very just: that taking them away to the Orphan-house will break up a family which is in a likely way of living comfortably. Mr. Whitefield's design is for the good of the people and the glory of God; and I dare say when he considers this he will be very well satisfied with the boys' and girl's return to their brother John Mellidge, since they can assist him. Upon this head I am to acquaint you that I have inspected the grant relating to the Orphan-house. Mr. Seward said that the Trustees had granted the orphans to Mr. Whitefield; but I showed him that it could not be in the sense he at first seemed to understand it. It is most certain that the orphans are human creatures and neither cattle nor any other kind of chattels, therefore cannot be granted.

"But the Trust have granted the *care* of the *helpless* orphans to Mr. Whitefield, and have given him five hundred acres of land and a power of collecting charities, as a consideration for maintaining all the orphans who are in necessity in this Province; and thereby the Trustees think themselves discharged from maintaining of any. But, at the same time, the Trustees have not given, as I see, any power to Mr. Whitefield to receive the effects of the orphans, much less to take by force any orphans who can maintain themselves or whom any other substantial person will maintain. The Trustees, in this, act according to the law of England: —In case orphans are left destitute, they become the charge of the parish, and the parish may put them out to be taken care of; but if any person will maintain them, so that they are not chargeable to the parish, then

the parish doth not meddle with them. And since taking away the court of Wards and Liveries, the guardianship of orphans is in their next relations, or themselves at certain age can chuse their guardians; and the Chancellor, Judges, Magistrates, etc., have the same inspection over the effects and persons of orphans as they have over those of his Majesty's other subjects."

In consequence of the General's opinion thus signified, John Mellidge was advised to wait upon Mr. Whitefield and request of him to permit his brother and sister to return home, that they might be useful to one another; but, having done so, he told Mr. Stephens that the answer which he received was:—"Your brother and sister are at their proper home already. I know no other home they have to go to; give my service to the General, and tell him so." Oglethorpe, being informed of this, peremptorily ordered Mr. Jones to take the children away from the Orphan-house; and Jones accordingly removed them during the absence of Whitefield, who had gone on a mission to the northern colonies. Whitefield, therefore, on his return, complained that he had been badly treated by Jones, who justified himself by saying he had only obeyed the General's positive commands;* whereupon his Reverence threatened to appeal to the Trustees.

Whitefield never concerned himself about the condition of the Indians; and, instead of confining his

* The Mellidges subsequently prospered, and, after the expiration of the Trustees' charter, John Mellidge was the Representative of Savannah in the first General Assembly of Georgia.

attention to his own cure, he occupied the greater portion of his time in preaching-excursions through the northern provinces of America, and in visits to Europe. Meanwhile the Orphan-house was managed by his friend Mr. James Habersham. According to the founder's own description, it must have been a most dismal abode for the poor children, who, having spent their mornings in school, were after dinner employed in something useful, no time being allowed for idleness or *play*,—"Satan's darling hours to tempt children to all manner of wickedness;" so that though they were seventy in family, there was no more noise than if it were a private house! * Habersham, in his letters, complains of the arbitrary conduct of the magistrates, and says that students who promised to be ornaments to society were withdrawn from the school and bound out as servants. On such occasions he was never consulted; his remonstrances were treated with contempt; and the General, whom he several times addressed, refused to interfere. It appears, however, from the following letter that Oglethorpe did occasionally interpose:—

"*Cambuslang, August* 18, 1742.

"Honoured Sir,—I most heartily thank you for being so kind to my family at Georgia, and for espousing my friend's cause when, I think, they were apparently wronged. In a letter, I yesterday laid the case before the Honourable Trustees, not doubting but they will preserve us from oppression and from persecution in all shapes. I think we have only the glory of God and the good of the Colony at heart. Prejudices may be

* See 'Political State of Great Britain,' vol. lx. p. 27.

raised against us by evil reports and misrepresentations; but your Excellency is more noble than to hearken to insinuations which are not supported by evident matter of fact. I am sure God will bless you for defending the cause of the fatherless, and espousing the cause of injured innocence. My friends, I trust, will at all times readily acknowledge anything they may either say or do wrong; and, if I know anything of my own heart, I would not offend any one causelessly and wilfully for the world. In a few months I hope to see Georgia. In the meanwhile I beg your Excellency to accept these few lines of thanks from, honoured Sir,

"Your Excellency's

"Most obliged and humble servant,

"GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

"To his Excellency General Oglethorpe."*

* Whitefield's Letters (London, 1772), vol. i. p. 423.—In a letter to the Trustees on the 6th of December, 1748, Whitefield represented that the Orphanage suffered in consequence of the manager's not being allowed to employ negroes in the cultivation of the plantation, which was the chief support of the house; and eventually he removed the establishment to South Carolina, where it flourished for a time on the profits of slave labour.

CHAPTER XV.

JANUARY, 1741—JUNE, 1742.

In England, during the spring and summer of the year 1740, warlike preparations were vigorously carried on by the Ministry, who had resolved to annoy Spain in her American possessions. In September a small squadron commanded by Commodore Anson sailed for the Pacific with the view of acting against the enemy on the coast of Chili and Peru, and of co-operating with Admiral Vernon across the isthmus of Darien. But the hope of the nation was centred upon the formidable armament designed for the Atlantic coast of New Spain. The land force, under Lord Cathcart, embarked at the Isle of Wight, and sailed under convoy of Sir Challenor Ogle, with a fleet of seven-and-twenty ships of the line, besides frigates and smaller vessels; and seldom has England had more reason to expect success.

On the opening of the session in November, the King assured Parliament that he was determined to

prosecute the war strenuously, even though France should espouse the cause of Spain,—an event which seemed by no means improbable. In violation of treaties, and notwithstanding the intimate connection which had been so long cultivated by the Ministers of France and England, before war was declared between the two kingdoms, the French fleet sailed to the West Indies in conjunction with that of Spain; and British merchants trembled for the safety of Jamaica. On the 9th of January, 1741, Sir Challenor Ogle arrived at that island, where he joined Admiral Vernon, who, with full power to act at discretion, now found himself at the head of the most powerful fleet and army that ever visited those seas. But Vernon, instead of directing his course to the Havannah, which might have been reached in two or three days, resolved to beat up against the wind to Hispaniola, in order to observe the motions of the French fleet; when, having learned that their admiral had returned to Europe for provisions, he proceeded to Carthagena.

Oglethorpe, who naturally was much interested in the success of the great English expedition, was ignorant of the return of the French fleet, and of Vernon's subsequent measures, when, on the 30th of January, he dispatched Mr. Cartaret, one of his aides-de-camp, with a letter to the Secretary of State, wherein he writes:—"Having advices, though not from hands entirely to be depended upon, that in case his Majesty's forces conquer the Havannah, the Governor of Augustine has orders to put himself under the protection of the French, I must desire your Grace's directions what to

do upon such an occasion. Also what I am to do if that expedition should fail, in which case we shall certainly be attacked here. I therefore thought it my duty to inform your Grace thereof, and hope you will lay the danger before his Majesty, that there may be such support sent to this province for the fortifying the same as is necessary to save it."

On the 28th of April the General informs the Secretary of State that the dispositions made of the regiment, the Highland companies, and the Rangers, with the sloops and boats, had prevented the Spaniards from doing any damage to Georgia or South Carolina since the siege of St. Augustine; and that he had employed the winter in adding to the defences of Frederica, building barracks, and supporting the Indians who blocked up St. Augustine and prevented the town from getting in any supplies by land. From several letters to the Trustees, it also appears that the Indians so plagued the inhabitants that none of them dared venture any distance from the walls, and therefore could not cultivate their plantations nor even cut wood in the neighbouring forest; consequently food, fuel, and all the necesssaries of life were so exceedingly dear, that most of the people, as well as the garrison, subsisted at the expense of the Spanish government upon the scanty stores which they received by sea.

As Oglethorpe's next letter to the Duke of Newcastle, dated "Frederica, 12th of May, 1741," furnished matter for two formal official Reports, it ought, perhaps, on that account at least, to appear as it came from his pen:—

"My Lord,—Since my last I have sent out a party of Creek Indians, under the command of one of their war captains, called Accouclauh. Two of our scout-boats landed them in the night in Florida; they marched up to Augustine and took one of their horse-men prisoner, and beat a party of their horse. I send the prisoner by Captain Thomson to your Grace, that his Majesty may have an exact account of the condition of St. Augustine. What he says is confirmed by other advices: that they have eight hundred men newly arrived, six hundred of them regular troops. Besides what he says, my intelligence mentions that they have received advice from the Havannah that Admiral Vernon and the troops from England are employed in the West Indies, and cannot come up to attack the Havannah; and that as soon as the Governor of the Havannah sees the effect of that expedition they will send up more troops and half-galleys for the attacking this Province and South Carolina. My private intelligence further adds that Spanish emissaries have been employed to fire the English towns and magazines of North America, and also to take other measures thereby to hinder the supplying this great English expedition with provisions. I send your Grace enclosed their present strength, and I hope such succours will be sent to us as his Majesty shall think necessary. If our numbers were but equal, and the men-of-war would stop their communication, we might still have the place; for our Indians still keep them blocked up. But if our men-of-war will not keep them from coming in by sea, and we have no succour, but decrease daily by different

accidents, all we can do will be to die bravely in his Majesty's service.

"I must therefore entreat your Grace to move his Majesty that there may be a train of artillery, arms, and ammunition sent over; also orders for completing our two troops of Rangers to sixty men each, the Highland company to one hundred, and a hundred boatmen; and orders to buy or build, and man two half-galleys. Having orders to raise forces in Georgia for the siege of Augustine, and none to reduce them, and it appearing that there was great danger of losing this Province to the Spaniards, the necessity obliged me to continue the Rangers, the Highland company, boatmen, sloops, and all the force raised in Georgia; which step has had its success, and I hope is approved of by his Majesty. I have also, upon the advice of succours arriving at Augustine, sent up Captain Dunbar to raise the Indian nations, and have sent to New York to raise boatmen. I also manned and sent out our sloop to sea, to see if they can beat their privateers before more succours come from the Havannah.

"I have often desired assistance of the men-of-war, and continue to do so. I go on in fortifying this town, making magazines, and doing everything I can to defend the Province vigorously, and I hope my endeavours will be approved of by his Majesty, since the whole end of my life is to do the duty of a faithful subject and grateful servant. I have thirty Spanish prisoners in this place, and we continue so masters of Florida that the Spaniards have not been able to rebuild any one of the seven forts which we destroyed

in the last expedition. Permit me with the greatest humility to return my most grateful thanks to his Majesty and your Grace for the company and officers added to this regiment, and at the same time to desire your Grace to move his Majesty in the matters above mentioned, which in my humble opinion are absolutely necessary for the preservation of this province."

It appears from a dispatch dated "Whitehall, 19th of October, 1741," that on receipt of the foregoing letter, the Secretary of State laid it before the Lords Justices,—the King being then in Hanover. Their Excellencies approved of the General's increasing the Georgian companies, hiring additional boatmen, and building or buying half-galleys, as he had proposed; but his application for artillery and various military stores they referred to the Duke of Montague, Master-General of Ordnance. Whereupon his Grace transferred the application to his principal officers to report thereon. These gentlemen therefore summoned Mr. Verelst, to whom the General had sent the details of his requirements. Amongst his demands was one for 600 swords, but unfortunately Verelst could not say whether they were wanted for the regiment, the militia, or the Indians, and in either case it was absolutely necessary, according to the laws of red tape, that the requisition should be sanctioned by some particular office. It further appears that the said principal officers considered the description of artillery which Oglethorpe asked for was too heavy, for in their Report they say:—"We are very well informed, my Lord, that all the continent for one hundred miles and up-

wards is a sheer sand, and that they have no materials to support their works but puncheons set on end with tye beams through the parapet, so that we cannot think of sending any ordnance heavier than a twelve-pounder for the use of the forts."* The Admiralty also had to be consulted respecting the half-galleys, etc.; and the Lords of that department could not possibly arrive at a decision upon so weighty a matter until they had met some half-dozen times, with due intervals between, and on each occasion attentively listened to their secretary while he read over the minutes of their previous sittings.

On the 19th of July, the General informed the home government:—"A new necessity is lately come upon us. We are supplied with flour chiefly from England or from his Majesty's provinces in America; and his Majesty's orders were to the ships at Charlestown to defend the trade of this place; but of late there have been a great many privateers fitted out from Augustine which makes it impossible for them to defend the communication to us, as Captain Fanshaw advises me from Charlestown, who says there are only two men-of-war stationed upon the coast, which are not sufficient to guard the trade of Charlestown and cruise off this place. I am therefore obliged to fit out another vessel for protecting the provisions and trade of this place, the Spaniards having made prizes of vessels off Charlestown, particularly one called the 'Crawford,' with fifteen thousand pounds' worth of goods on board."†

* From copy of Report, "27th of October, 1741."—Record Office.

† The master of the 'Crawford' with three men and a boy escaped

Upon hearing of this last capture he ordered out the guard-sloop with a detachment from his regiment; but judging it rash to send her out singly, he hired a schooner, belonging to Captain Caleb Davis, which was accidentally at Frederica. These two vessels sailing towards the coast of Florida met with three Spanish half-galleys and, having forced them to fly, overtook and attacked one of their privateers, which they drove ashore and disabled. The General, finding, however, that hiring ordinary vessels was not only expensive but dangerous,—since they were ill-adapted and drew too much water for the service,—had bought one of little draught, which he fitted out suitably; and he excuses himself for having incurred this expense, by remarking that if he had not done so, the loss of English shipping with their cargoes of stores, clothing, etc., would be far greater than the cost of his purchase, not to speak of the distress which must ensue to the people of the colony.

On the 16th of August, Oglethorpe being apprised that a large ship lay at anchor off the bar of Jekyll Sound, immediately sent out a boat to reconnoitre her, and ascertained that she was manned by Spaniards with evidently hostile intent. Whereupon he embarked in the guard-sloop, took also the sloop 'Falcon,' again hired Captain Davis's schooner 'Norfolk,' and, having ordered on board these vessels a large de-

from St. Augustine, and made their way to St. Andrew's, on Cumberland Island, whence they were forwarded to Frederica. The General having supplied their wants, they volunteered to accompany him on his next expedition, "to have their revenge."—MS. Journal; Record Office.

tachment from his regiment under Major Heron, sailed in pursuit. But before he got down to the bar, a violent storm arose, and when it was over, the ship was out of sight. Unwilling, however, to lose the object of his equipment, he sailed directly for Florida; but, finding that the 'Falcon' had been damaged by the gale, he sent her back, and proceeded with the guard-sloop and the schooner. By daybreak of the 21st, a ship and a sloop were discovered at anchor, about five leagues distant; and, it being a dead calm, the General ordered out the boats, by which his vessels were towed along till noon, when they came up with the enemy. It was then found that one was a Spanish man-of-war, and the other a notorious privateer called the 'Black Sloop,' commanded by Destrade, a French officer who had taken several prizes.

Oglethorpe gave orders for boarding; and, a favourable breeze springing up, his vessels bore down upon the Spaniards, who forthwith opened fire which, however, was so hotly returned that they weighed anchor as speedily as possible and ran over the bar. The English pursued; but, though they kept their adversaries engaged for more than an hour, could not succeed in boarding. The Spaniards then thought it full time to make for the town, and as they appeared to be disabled, six half-galleys came out and covered the retreat by discharging their guns; but kept at so prudent a distance that not a shot reached either sloop or schooner. Three or four ships were lying in the inner harbour all the time, yet none ventured to encounter the little Georgian squadron. Oglethorpe remained

that night at anchor within sight of the castle of St. Augustine, and next day sailed for the Metanzas; but, finding no shipping there, he cruised for some days off the bar; and, having alarmed the whole coast, returned to Frederica.

By way of introduction to the next letter, it may be advisable here to acquaint the reader with the following circumstances. The General having appointed Mr. Harman Verelst his correspondent and private agent, ordered his military agent, Peregrine Furye, Esq., Secretary to Chelsea Hospital, to hand over his pay to Mr. Verelst, on whom Oglethorpe, from the time of his arrival in Georgia in 1738, drew bills of exchange. In the year 1740, the Government not having sent him any instructions as to the particular manner in which he was to certify and defray the expenses incurred on account of the siege of St. Augustine, he began to draw bills, "for his Majesty's service," upon his private agent. Verelst, when such bills were first presented for his acceptance, applied for directions to Sir Robert Walpole, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, who desired him to accept them, and apply to the Treasury for occasional *imprests* to General Oglethorpe or his assigns to satisfy such bills as were drawn on account of the King's service. This method was accordingly pursued; and, Mr. Furye receiving the imprests, supplied Verelst with the requisite means of meeting his engagements.

In July, 1741, however, a bill drawn in Virginia by Captain Mark Carr, and represented to be so drawn by the General's order, was offered to Mr. Verelst for

acceptance,* but the order not being presented at the same time, he again consulted Sir Robert Walpole, who desired him to send back the draft and tell the General to draw no more bills, for his Majesty's service, until further instructions. But before Oglethorpe could possibly receive these directions, he was obliged to draw bills as hitherto to pay the military and naval expenses of the colony; and Verelst, on receipt of his letters in October, was advised by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to request Mr. Stone to lay before the Lords Justices the particulars of the services for which bills had been drawn, "as they related to a new credit." The General's letter of the 12th of May was therefore submitted to their Excellencies who—as we have seen—not only sanctioned the expenses he had already incurred, but approved of his adding to them by increasing the numbers of the local companies, etc. Yet, no orders whatever were sent him to alter the old method of drawing bills, nor was he directed how to defray the cost of the services he was compelled to maintain.† Thus much upon this topic, to which unhappily it will be necessary to revert, will suffice here to explain some passages in the following paragraphs of a letter written by Oglethorpe, on the 7th of December, to Mr. Verelst:—

"There is continually a body of Indians employed

* Captain Carr, having been sent to Virginia by the General to raise recruits, was detained there for some time by the severity of the weather; and, in order to provide for the men's necessities, was obliged to draw the above-mentioned bill for £100.

† The above particulars have been digested from a multiplicity of documents amongst the Georgia Papers; Record Office.

by me acting against the Spaniards of St. Augustine. They have straitened that place extremely, and frequently bring in prisoners here. Amongst the last was a Lieutenant of horse, belonging to that garrison, by name Don Romualdo Ruiz del Morale, nephew to the late Governor.* The entertaining the Indians is very expensive; but they are absolutely necessary. . . . I make no expenses but what are absolutely necessary, and employ all I have from his Majesty in his service. As for my own expenses they are mighty inconsiderable. The expenses of vessels, Indians, etc., are so necessary that we could not hold the country without them. If I did not draw for them, how must I answer the loss of it, by the want of their assistance?

"It is a great misfortune to me to have no accountant; for these things would appear very plain if I had. When I came out of England I depended upon Mr. Jones, but he is so taken up at Savannah that he cannot spare time to come to my assistance, and the crowd of other business and service prevents my having time.† . . . As I look upon holding this Province to his Majesty to be of the utmost importance, I risk everything for it; and the Spaniards, for the same reason, strive all they can to destroy me, as well by employing agents in stirring up lies and calumnies against me to lessen my reputation at home, as by open force.‡

* In a subsequent letter, to the Duke of Newcastle, he states that the Don was captured by a party of Creeks under Tooanohowi, "the Indian who had the honour of your Grace's protection in England."

† Mr. Jones was subsequently ordered to repair to Frederica and manage the General's accounts, etc.

‡ See Appendix V.

"I send you enclosed the list of the expenses I daily pay and have discharged, besides contingencies. The amount you have of the several establishments, sent over by different occasions; and I dare not send them by this, lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy. I send enclosed the certificates of the sloops, etc.; and desire you would deliver the enclosed to Sir Robert of which I send you a copy that you may apply accordingly."*

There is nothing of importance in Oglethorpe's communication to Sir Robert Walpole that has not been anticipated, except perhaps the remark that, he did not doubt, with support, being able not only to keep the Province but to improve it, even though the war should continue; and whilst he kept the Spaniards in check all the other British provinces in North America enjoyed full liberty of cultivating the open country.

Towards the end of the year 1741, the English prisoners in Florida, the greater number of whom were Carolinians taken by Spanish privateers, petitioned General Oglethorpe for their release; and the Governor of St. Augustine, who was very desirous of effecting an exchange, forwarded the document, the prayer of which he seconded in an exceedingly florid and complimentary letter appealing to his Excellency's "well-known humanity," etc. Oglethorpe accordingly soon afterwards fitted out his two guard-vessels, and taking a detachment of soldiers with him, sailed for St. Au-

* Sir Robert Walpole was no longer Chancellor of the Exchequer when the above-mentioned letter reached him.

gustine, not only to negotiate the exchange of prisoners but to restrain the privateers.*

The colonial history of Great Britain but too plainly exhibits the fact that her people, though otherwise perhaps the best colonizers in the world, have always shown want of tact in their treatment of the aborigines. With a few exceptions, the civil and military Governors of our American provinces failed to conciliate the red men, in which respect they appear to disadvantage in comparison with French, if not with Spanish, rulers. The best-known name amongst the honourable exceptions is that of William Penn. Who has not read many books in which his conduct is favourably contrasted with that of other founders of colonies? Somewhat unjustly too; for Penn, in purchasing from the natives the right to the soil and in his subsequent kindness towards them, only followed the example of Lord Baltimore.

Both Lord Baltimore and Penn, however, had obtained from their sovereign grants to themselves and their heirs of immense landed estates; and, in maintaining peace with the Indians, they adopted the most obvious mode of rendering their own possessions valuable. But how will either of them stand beside Oglethorpe; who, from no self-interested motive whatever, induced the natives to cede some of their territory to Great Britain, and so won their affections that they were ever ready to follow him to the field? While Penn's estate, too, was flanked by the strong provinces

* Letter to the Duke of Newcastle, dated "Frederica, 12th of December, 1741."

of Virginia and Maryland, Oglethorpe, with the weak and factious Carolinas in his rear, confronted the long established colonies of Spain and France; and, when forsaken by his own countrymen and neglected by the Government, it was in great part owing to the fidelity of his Indian allies that he was enabled to preserve the colony he had founded. "If we had no other evidence," says the Georgian writer previously cited, "of the great abilities of Oglethorpe but what is offered by the devotion of the Indian tribes to him, and to his memory afterwards for fifty years, it is all-sufficient; for it is only master minds that acquire this deep and lasting influence over other men."*

But another benefactor of the primitive people of the western hemisphere, whom we absurdly call Indians, must now be introduced. Mr. Clark, Lieutenant-Governor of New York, who had long corresponded with Oglethorpe concerning them, in the year 1740 held a conference with the tribes known as the Six Nations, in order—as they phrased it—"to unite them in the covenant chain." Early in 1742, the General received a letter from Mr. Clark, in consequence of which, on the 3rd of March, he writes to his fellow-Trustees :—

"Gentlemen,—Governor Clark hath for some years past been labouring to bring about one of the noblest designs, and most advantageous for all the British settlements on the continent of America; which is to make a peace between the Indians that are subject to, or under the crown of Great Britain, and thereby pre-

* Spalding, 'Collections of Georgia Historical Society,' vol. i.

vent their destroying and slaughtering each other as they now daily do. Besides the saving so many lives and making the western parts safe, it enables the English Indians to act with more vigour and greater numbers against the Spaniards or any nation at war with us. Those men who otherwise would be forced to stay at home for their own defence will be enabled to leave their towns by the peace.

"I have with much difficulty made a peace between the Chickesaws, Cherokees, and Creeks; but the great work of making a peace between them and the Six Nations remains with Governor Clark to do. If the Chickesaws can obtain a peace with the Six Nations, which are called the Back Enemy, they will be secured against the French; otherwise that brave people will be overlaid with numbers. They have acquainted me that the fear of the Back Enemy did prevent their coming down this year to war against the Spaniards; whereas last year they sent down forty, and if the peace is made with the Six Nations they will send down every year two hundred. The Cherokees have also acquainted me that if they are secured from the Back Enemy, who lately killed their Emperor, Moy Toy, they will be able to furnish two thousand men, in case we should have occasion for them.

"I shall say no more to you upon this head, since Governor Clark in his letter speaks so fully upon it. His reasons are so strong that I can add nothing to the words of his excellent pen; therefore send you a copy of his. As the treaty is of greater consequence to Georgia than to any other colony, I drew for £100

sterling upon Mr. Verelst, towards defraying the charges thereof, which I hope you will reimburse."

The Trustees were restrained by the terms of their parliamentary grants from incurring any expense for the defence of the colony; but Oglethorpe, regarding Mr. Clark's laudable scheme as a civil matter, looked to them, not to the Government, for reimbursement. The Trustees, however, considering the subject of importance, on receipt of the foregoing letter and of one from the Lieutenant-Governor of New York on the same subject, thought it right to send copies to the Secretary of State; "as," they write, "such an union of the Indians now at variance might be the surest means of stopping the encroachment and defeating the designs of the French against the British provinces."

Oglethorpe, in a short letter addressed to the Duke of Newcastle on the 13th of January, 1742, informed his Grace that the Spanish privateers had made no prizes since his engagement with them off St. Augustine. It would seem that he had sent this letter by some unarmed vessel and feared it had miscarried; for he begins his next to the Duke—dated "Frederica, the 9th of April"—by saying that since his last of the 12*th of December*, he had had no *safe* opportunity of sending letters.* He continues thus:—

"In my last I mentioned my intention of setting out for Augustine, which I accordingly did with our two guard-vessels. We met with such a violent storm that

* In one of his letters to Mr. Verelst he says:—"There is nothing puts me under more difficulty than the want of a direct correspondence to England. Seven out of eight letters by Charlestown miscarry."

it was with great difficulty we saved the vessels. Several English vessels were lost at sea, and a Bristol ship, the 'Three Brothers,' had met the same fate unless we had fortunately come up to her. She had lost two of her masts and was almost overset. By our assistance she got in safe here, and being refitted, she hath pursued her voyage. The Indians are continually bringing in prisoners, and force the Spaniards to keep close to Augustine.

"The Spaniards fitted up a sloop taken from the English, and made a privateer of her. She took some prizes, and the Governor of St. Augustine and the Bishop sent her to Guarico on the island Hispaniola to take a loading of flour, clothing, etc., for the relief of Augustine. They also took in some French seamen and a French commander, and gave her the name of the 'Swiss.' On the 29th of January last she arrived off the bar of St. Augustine, and made their signals, on which the Governor sent out the half-galleys with two hundred men who went on board her to convoy her in; but the weather blowing fresh, the galleys were forced to run over the bar, but left a pilot to carry the sloop in next high water. One of the Spaniards who had bought the cargo went on shore with the galleys to give an account to the Governor, who received it with great joy, ordered the guns to fire round the works, and sent a party of Indians to cut wood to make a bonfire. A detachment of our Indians then in the woods immediately attacked them, killed several, and brought in five prisoners hither; and our guard-sloop the 'St. Philip,' with Captain Dunbar and a

party of the regiment on board, came up with the Spanish sloop before it was high water, and, she not being able to run in over the bar, they took her and brought her in hither. The jury found her to be a Spanish vessel, and the court condemned her. I have ordered her to be sent over to England with the cargo, that his Majesty may give his orders what should be done with her. She will sail in a few days, and will carry your Grace my letter at large."

In consequence, however, of fresh intelligence of the warlike preparations at St. Augustine, the General changed his mind respecting the prize, which he detained some months for the service of the colony. In reference to her captain, Mr. Jenys, a merchant at Charlestown, in a letter to Mr. Verelst, says :—"Our wrongheads now begin to own that the security of our southern settlements and trade is owing to the vigilance and unwearied endeavours of his Excellency in annoying the enemy." *

On the 7th of June, Oglethorpe again writes to the Duke of Newcastle, whom he informs that the Indians had taken more Spaniards, and that he had sent down a number of prisoners to St. Augustine, in exchange for some Carolina mariners sent up to him. He then goes on to say :—

"The Indian spies bring me word that the Spaniards have received powerful succour; that all their houses are filled with the new soldiers, and that the common talk is full of brag that they intend to attack us and overrun all North America. They are some of the

* Colonial Correspondence; Georgia.—Record Office.

troops which were raised for the defence of Cuba. I hope your Grace will remember I long ago acquainted you that I expected an invasion as soon as the affair of Cuba was ended, and prayed for succours, which are not yet arrived. The Spaniards have, as I then believed, sent up troops, and expect a general revolt of the negroes. It is too late now to desire your Grace to represent this to his Majesty and ask succours. Before they can arrive the matter will be over. I hope I shall behave as well as one with so few men and so little artillery can. I have great advantage from my knowledge of the country, and the soldiers and inhabitants being in good heart and used to fatigue and arms. We have often seen and drove the Spaniards, and, I believe, one of us is as good as ten of them. I hope your Grace will be so good as to represent our situation; for, though the present affair will be over before any succour can come, yet, if we defeat the enemy, it will facilitate our taking St. Augustine if troops arrive; and if none come our success will only secure our own."

On the same day Oglethorpe writes to the Earl of Wilmington, the new First Lord of the Treasury; and, after informing him of the preparations the Spaniards were making to favour a revolt amongst the negroes of the neighbouring province, adds:—"They won't pass by us into Carolina, so must take us in their way; but I believe they will meet with a morsel not easily to be digested. Yet we are not in the situation we would wish, being very weak in cannon and shot; never having had any from England, nor indeed anything else

since my last arrival in this country, but one storeship of powder and small arms from his Grace the Duke of Argyle just before he was out of the Ordnance. From the time he quitted the service till now, I have been left to shift for myself. I have sent to raise men to the northward, and to buy guns and ammunition of all kinds; and have, according to standing orders, drawn bills for his Majesty's service, with orders to Mr. Verelst to apply thereupon to the Treasury."

A few days before Oglethorpe wrote as above, Captain Hamer, of the 'Flamborough,' having called at St. Simon's, the General informed him that reinforcements were on their way from the Havannah to St. Augustine, and sent a pilot to show him where the vessels might be found. Captain Hamer proceeded accordingly; and, off the Mosquitoes, engaged ten sail that had been separated from the fleet by a storm, some of which he drove ashore; but in the action lost about a score of his men and one of his boats. On his return he acquainted the General with what had happened; but, instead of remaining as a safeguard to the frontier, sailed back to Charlestown for repairs; and Oglethorpe, learning soon afterwards that more of the enemy's vessels had reached their rendezvous, wrote to the naval commander at Charlestown to come to his assistance.

On the 10th of June Lieutenant Primrose Maxwell arrived in Charlestown with a dispatch from the General to the Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina, whom he informed of the arrival of several vessels at St. Augustine; but Mr. Bull only replied that he was well assured there were but eleven small craft with

three hundred men—the usual relief sent annually from the Havannah—and that the same vessels carried back the like number of men. Four or five days afterwards, Lieutenant Maxwell, receiving further advice that the Georgia guard-schooner had discovered fifteen more strange vessels, showed the letter to the Lieutenant-Governor, who, nevertheless, was still incredulous, and, when Maxwell told him that he had orders and bills of exchange from the General to purchase various military stores, but could not obtain any, Mr. Bull "seemed to take no notice." With the naval commander Maxwell was little more successful. Captain Frankland, indeed, promised to send down the 'Rose' and the 'Flamborough;' but, though two expresses from the General—one by Lieutenant Mackay, the other by James Howell, a master-mariner—came in the meantime, he did not perform his promise. So, Mr. Maxwell returned to Frederica, where he arrived nine days before the great Spanish armament entered that port.*

One of Oglethorpe's letters to Lieutenant-Governor Bull, to whom, it will be seen, he speaks pretty sharply, runs thus:—

"FREDERICA, *8th June*, 1742.

"Sir,—I send you enclosed Captain Hamer's account of the action he had with the convoy of some of the transports that brought the succours into St. Augustine. Our guard-schooner is on the Spanish [Florida] coast, and will probably bring us back some intelli-

* Deposition of Primrose Maxwell, Lieutenant in his Excellency General Oglethorpe's regiment. Sworn at Frederica, February 1, 1743.

gence. I have sent the 'Faulcon' guard-sloop to the southward. I will also send out the sloop 'St. Philip' to watch their motions as soon as I can get guns, having lost several in a storm, which disables her from going to sea until the arrival of those guns which I ordered Mr. Maxwell to buy.

"You would be in the right to have the militia immediately reviewed and ready for service. I expect the Spaniards will attack us; and, if they do, doubt not to give them a warm reception and make them sick of it; but, if they should get the better of us, they will immediately follow their advantage, and you may expect a visit; and it's possible they may excite an insurrection amongst the negroes. I expect you should send to Fort Frederick what is necessary for the defence of that place, of which I send you an estimate, and one to the Assembly, to be laid before them. If there's any trifling in this, and an accident thereupon should happen, you may depend on it you are answerable for it. I have often given notice how the place was neglected. Some of the men in the garrison were countenanced in their desertion, and harboured by some ill-designed people. I therefore desire you would publish a proclamation for the apprehending of them, setting forth the consequences upon those who receive them. These men have been four years in the regiment, and never attempted to desert till in garrison in the province of Carolina. If encouragement be given them, and no notice taken of deserters there, it will be the worse consequence not only to the King's service, but to the defence of the province itself."

Mr. Bull continued to slight Oglethorpe's advices, until, at length, the planters in the more exposed districts were seized with a panic, deserted their plantations, and fled with their families to Charlestown. The townspeople, who proved to be the ruling faction, declared against sending any assistance to Georgia, and determined to defend themselves on their own ground. The Lieutenant-Governor therefore prepared for war, by appointing a long train of aides-de-camp. He at the same time nominated Mr. Vanderdussen Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief by land and sea; and created numberless officers of every rank, from General down to Captain. The militia was mustered and reviewed, dilapidated batteries were repaired, rusty guns were remounted; and, the Spaniards being still 200 miles off, a most martial spirit was displayed by those men who left the true defender of their Province as well as of his own to stand or fall, as the case might be, before a vastly superior force.*

* 'Gentleman's Magazine,' 1743, p. 638; and M'Call's 'History of Georgia,' vol. i. p. 175.

CHAPTER XVI.

JUNE—JULY, 1742.

Ogletʜorpe's fears proved to be but too well founded. In May the Governor of Havannah ordered those troops who had been engaged against Wentworth to embark with artillery and every necessary of war on a secret expedition. This formidable fleet, except a number of galleys wrecked in coming out of the harbour, arrived off St. Augustine; and being there joined by the Florida forces, the whole armament comprised more than fifty sail of all descriptions, with between 5000 and 6000 soldiers aboard.

On the 22nd of June Oglethorpe received advice from Captain Dunbar, who lay with the guard-schooner near Fort William, that fourteen Spanish vessels had attempted to come in there, and, being driven out by the guns of the fort and the schooner, had entered Cumberland Sound. The General therefore instantly sent thither Captain Horton with his company of grenadiers and some Indians, who safely reached the island. He

himself soon afterwards followed with a detachment of his regiment in three boats. On entering the Sound he was attacked by the enemy, but, with two of his boats, he fought his way through their whole fleet. Lieutenant Tolson, who commanded the third and strongest boat, instead of supporting him, ordered his men to run into a creek, where he lay concealed till next day, when he returned to St. Simon's and reported that the General had been overpowered and killed. But Oglethorpe, by keeping to the leeward, and thus taking advantage of the smoke, had escaped the fire and landed in safety, while the Spaniards suffered so much in the engagement that four of their vessels foundered on their way back to St. Augustine for repairs, and the rest did not rejoin their great fleet until it was too late.

Lieutenant-Colonel Cook being absent, the officer in command at Frederica was Major Heron, who watched from the mast-head of a vessel. Seeing that the General was surrounded by the enemy, he concluded that he was lost; and, therefore dispatched Mr. Francis Moore with expresses to the Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina and the naval Commander of the station, begging their immediate assistance. Next day, however, to the great joy of the people, Oglethorpe returned in his schooner, after having withdrawn the garrison from St. Andrew's, removed the artillery and stores that were there, and reinforced Fort William on the same island. Having laid an embargo on the vessels in the harbour, he took into the King's service the merchant ship 'Success,' mounting 20 guns and commanded by Captain Thompson, who had lately arrived from England.

He also called in the Highland company from Darien,* the Rangers from their several outposts,† Captain Carr's company of boatmen, and sent an officer to Carolina to get all the men he possibly could.

On the 28th the Spanish fleet anchored off St. Simon's bar, but was prevented from passing it or landing any men for several days. During this time Oglethorpe raised another troop of Rangers, freed the servants,‡ and gave presents to the Indians; while by liberally rewarding those who did extraordinary duty and promising promotion or other encouragement to all who should distinguish themselves, he kept up the spirits of his supporters, whose number daily increased. The 'Success' having but ten seamen, the General sent 100 soldiers aboard her, and the ship being well provided with warlike stores, "We were ready," says one of her crew, "for twice the number of Spaniards." The same authority adds:—"There were several vessels in the harbour, which we (as Commodore) placed in the following order, viz. the 'Success,' Captain Thompson, of twenty guns and 110 men, with springs upon our cables; the General's schooner of fourteen guns and eighty

* "The Highlanders are Foot that can do some service in the woods and thickets; and, next to the Indians, the most useful in those grounds where regular troops can't form."—'Oglethorpe's General Heads of the Extraordinaries of the War;' Record Office.

† "The Rangers are men acquainted with the woods, mounted on horseback. They not only carry advices through these vast forests and swim rivers, but in action, by their taking an enemy in flank or rear, do good service. They are also of great service in watching the seacoast, and in preventing hostile landing."—*Ibid.*

‡ These were persons who had agreed to serve for a certain time, in return for their passage, outfit, etc.

men, on our larboard bow, ditto; the 'St. Philip' sloop of fourteen guns and eighty men on our larboard quarter; and eight York sloops close in shore, with one man on board each, in case of being overpowered to sink or run them on shore."*

On the 5th of July, with a favourable gale and spring tide, thirty-six Spanish vessels ran into St. Simon's harbour, in line-of-battle, and were received with a brisk fire from the land batteries and the shipping. Twice the enemy attempted to board the 'Success,' but in vain; and, being also repulsed by the schooner, after an engagement of four hours, in which they lost twenty men, proceeded up the river towards Frederica. Oglethorpe then, having ordered his own men ashore, sent his thanks to the seamen for their brave resistance, and directed them to make the best of their way out of the harbour, upon which the 'Success,' together with the schooner and the prize sloop, dropped down with the tide, and reached Charlestown in safety.

During the action the General, who was sometimes on shipboard and sometimes at the batteries, was also obliged to act as engineer; for Lieutenant-Colonel Cook—whose duty it was—having gone to Charlestown, on hearing of the invasion, instead of joining his regiment, hastened to England; and his son-in-law, Ensign Eyre, the sub-engineer, who had accompanied him to Carolina, did not return to Georgia until the business was over. Oglethorpe, therefore, finding it impossible to do his duty as General and be constantly

* Extract of letter from Mr. John Smith of the 'Success.'—'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xii. 495.

with his own corps, promoted Major Heron to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy.

Having called a council of war, it was unanimously resolved to destroy the batteries, provisions, etc., at St. Simon's, that they should not fall into the enemy's bands; and at once retire to Frederica, so as to be ready to defend the fort before the Spaniards could reach it. Proceeding accordingly, they arrived at Frederica in the evening; while the invaders landed upon a dry marsh near the village of St. Simon's, where they lay all night under arms, and next morning took possession of the forsaken camp. About noon a party of Creeks brought the General five Spanish prisoners,* from whom he learned that his old competitor Don Manuel de Montiano, Governor of St. Augustine, was Commander-in-chief of the expedition; that Major-General Antonio de Rodondo, Chief Engineer, and two Brigadiers had come with the troops from Cuba; and that the number of the land forces exceeded 5000 men, who had orders to give no quarter.†

Oglethorpe was placed in a most critical position;

* Oglethorpe, probably as ocular demonstration for the incredulous Carolinians, immediately sent one of these prisoners to Charlestown.—Lieutenant Sutherland's 'Narrative of the Invasion of Georgia.'—'Scots Magazine,' 1742, p. 576.

† "The Spaniards were resolved to put all to the sword, not to spare a life, so as to terrify the English from any future thoughts of resettling."—Letter from Mr. Rutledge of Charlestown to A. Stone, Esq., Under-Secretary; Record Office. "During the time they lay off this bar, the Spaniards whetted their swords and held their knives to this deponent's and several other English prisoners' throats, and saying they would cut the throats of those they should take in Georgia."—"Deposition of Samuel Cloake; 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xii. p. 661.

but, unappalled by danger, his presence of mind never forsook him. His resolution no difficulties could shake; obstacles only tended to redouble his energy; and his invincible spirit, together with his long-tried powers of endurance, rendered him insensible of fatigue. His firm and self-collected mind—apparent not only in his deportment, but also in the vigorous measures which he adopted—produced corresponding intrepidity in those around him, inspired them with increased confidence in their Commander, and incited their determination to resist their invaders to the last. As the General was obliged to confine himself to defensive operations, he sent scouting parties in every direction to watch the movements of the enemy, while he employed his main body in working at the fortifications, so as to make Frederica as secure as circumstances would permit.

Several detachments of Spaniards, with the view of investing the fort, attempted to pierce through the woods, but were repulsed by lurking Indians. The only access to the town was by the avenue which Oglethorpe had cut through the forest, which way then led on by the edge of the marsh that bounded the island eastward. This defile was so intricate that the invaders could take neither artillery nor baggage with them, while no more than two or three men could march abreast; and the Spanish battalions, in their endeavours to push on, were so obstructed by the morass on one side, and the dark entangled thicket on the other, as well as by the Indians and Highlanders who lay in ambush, that many efforts to proceed ended in serious loss.

At length, however, on the morning of the 7th, an Indian scout apprised Oglethorpe that the vanguard of the Spanish army had approached within two miles of the town. The General wishing to encounter his adversaries in the wood, before they could form on the open ground, leaped upon a horse, ordered four platoons of the regiment to follow him as soon as possible, and instantly set out at the head of a body of Highlanders, Rangers, and Indians then under arms. He soon came up to the foremost party of Spaniards, consisting of 120 of their best woodmen, forty Yamasees, and as many negroes, and charged so fiercely that he speedily vanquished them, all but a few being either killed or taken. He took two prisoners with his own hands; a Ranger took Captain Sanchio, their commander; and Tooanahowi, having been shot through the right arm by another Spanish officer, drew his pistol with his left and killed his antagonist on the spot.

Oglethorpe pursued the fugitives more than a mile, and then halted upon an advantageous piece of ground until the regulars had come up. These, with the Highlanders, he posted in the wood fronting the plain through which the approaching army must pass; and himself returned with all speed to Frederica to prepare the company of marines and encourage the people. Meanwhile 100 grenadiers and 200 more of the enemy's best troops, besides Indians and negroes, advanced with shouts and beating drums into the savannah, and halted within a hundred paces of the wood where Oglethorpe's men lay in ambush. The Spaniards stacked their muskets, kindled fires, and were prepar-

ing their kettles for cooking, when a horse took fright and began to snort. This caused an alarm, and the invaders ran to their arms, but were shot down in such numbers by their invisible assailants that, after repeated attempts to form, in which their principal officers fell, they decamped in great haste, leaving their equipage on the field. So complete was the surprise, that many fled without their muskets, while others fired over their shoulders at their pursuers, but to no other effect than to prune the trees.

Oglethorpe hearing the noise of the musketry immediately rode towards it, and, not far from Frederica, met three of his own platoons, who, in consequence of a drizzling shower and the air being darkened by the smoke, had taken fright and retired in disorder. They told the General that their party had been defeated and that Lieutenant Sutherland was killed; but he ordered their officers to form them again and march back against the enemy. As the firing continued, he concluded that the rest of his men could not have been quite beaten, and that prompt assistance would at least relieve them. He therefore spurred on, and arrived just as the engagement was over, when he found that the Spaniards had been thoroughly routed by one platoon of his regiment under Lieutenant Sutherland, and the Highland company headed by Lieutenant Charles Mackay. Don Antonio Barba, who commanded the Spanish detachment, had been taken mortally wounded,* two other officers were made prisoners, and several men

* The Spaniards considered the loss of this officer worse than that of 1000 men.—Deposition of A. Torton, prisoner in a Spanish ship.

were killed on the spot. In this and the previous action the enemy lost four captains, two lieutenants, and about three hundred privates; while many more, who had sought refuge in the forest, were killed by the Indians; and the locality, from the great slaughter of which it was the scene, was long afterwards known as Bloody Marsh.

Captain Demeré and Ensign Gibbon having arrived with the platoons they had rallied, as also Lieutenant Cadogan with an advanced party of the regiment, and soon afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel Heron with the remainder of the corps accompanied by Rangers and Indians, the General marched on to a causeway which led over a marsh to within two miles of the Spanish encampment, by which movement he intercepted those who had been dispersed in the last fight. He there passed the night, while his Indian scouts reconnoitred the hostile camp; and next morning he learned that the invaders, having retired into the ruins of St. Simon's Fort, were entrenching themselves under shelter of the cannon of their ships. Therefore, judging that it would be imprudent to attack them with so few men, he marched back to Frederica in order to refresh his wearied soldiers; whence he sent out parties of Rangers and Indians to harass the enemy and watch their motions. He now appointed a general staff, making Lieutenants Primrose Maxwell and Hugh Mackay his aides-de-camp, and Lieutenant Patrick Sutherland Brigade-Major; and he at the same time promoted Sergeant Stuart to be second Ensign in reward for his bravery in the late engagement.

While he thus rewarded and encouraged others, his own mind was full of care and anxiety. He began to despair of help from either the men-of-war or from Carolina; and his provisions were neither good nor plentiful. He had laid in a year's stock a short time before the Spaniards came; but, as the storehouse at Frederica could not contain the whole, he was obliged to leave a considerable quantity in a house by the river side. These provisions, with more on board the sloops, he had burned rather than leave them for the enemy; and while the Spaniards held possession of the Sound, fresh supplies could hardly be obtained from any of the other British colonies. Yet he carefully concealed his uneasiness from his little army, which consisted of no more than eight hundred men of every description, as well as from the people who still remained in Frederica.* The latter he assured that, at the worst, he could secure their retreat through Alligator's Creek and the canal he had cut through General's Island to Darien, whence they might proceed to Savannah; and his troops he animated with a spirit of perseverance by undergoing every privation to which the meanest of them was exposed.

The Spanish commander having found that he could

* On the 13th of July, Mr. Francis Moore, who was still detained at Charlestown vainly endeavouring to obtain assistance, informed the Trustees:—"As we have not yet heard anything of the women and children from Frederica, which the General designed to send away when the enemy came very near that town, we are in hopes that things are better there than we could expect." He subsequently states that few of the women left Frederica, and those that remained were in good heart.

not reach Frederica by land, changed his mode of operation, and proceeded with his galleys up the river; but Oglethorpe having been forewarned of this manœuvre was not unprepared. Amongst the grass and shrubs bordering the shore he concealed a number of Indians, who frustrated every attempt at landing; and when the galleys came within gunshot of the town, the cannon of the fort opened so warm a fire that they were soon compelled to retire, the General with his boats pursuing them till they got under shelter of their ships in the Sound.

It appears that this futile attempt by water was the sole issue of a villanous plot. During the siege of St. Augustine a Spanish officer quitted one of the outer forts and surrendered himself to Oglethorpe, who detained him as a prisoner of war. This man was very communicative, and gave what was considered valuable information. He might subsequently have been exchanged; but, pretending that his countrymen looked upon him as a traitor, he begged to remain. In time he artfully ingratiated himself into the favour of the General, who treated him with great kindness and courtesy; but on the invasion, fearing, as he said, that if he should fall into the hands of the Spaniards they would deal rigorously with him, he asked permission to retire to some of our northern colonies. Oglethorpe, unsuspicious of any treacherous design, gave him a canoe to ascend the river to Darien, whence he might proceed by land to one of the distant settlements. In a few days, however, he came back to Frederica, saying that he could not make his way without being dis-

covered and captured. But soon after his return, an English prisoner, who had escaped from the Spanish Commodore's ship, assured the General that he had not only seen this very man aboard, but had overheard his murderous scheme of setting fire to the arsenal of Frederica, when the galleys were to approach, and in the confusion the town was to be assaulted. The disclosure confirmed suspicions which had been excited by the conduct of the traitor since his return, and he was closely confined. So the nefarious plot was rendered abortive.*

Two more English prisoners, who escaped on the 12th—one from the fleet and the other from the camp—informed Oglethorpe that the Spaniards, not having anticipated such desperate resistance, had become dispirited. The Indian scouts so plagued them day and night, that they were afraid to venture outside their trenches. "The woods," said a Spanish sergeant, "were so full of Indians that the devil could not get through them."† Their hospital ship could not accommodate all the wounded and sick, whose condition was most distressing; and their discomfort was increased by insufficiency of water aboard. Oglethorpe was also apprised that they had held a council of war, at which there was great dissension, insomuch that the Cuban forces separated from those of Florida, and formed another encampment; while the Commodore ordered all the seamen to return to their ships.

* Urlsperger, ii. 1260.

† 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xii. p. 661. "Those Spaniards who come on board," says the English prisoner who relates as above, "were so downhearted that they would hardly speak a word."

Oglethorpe therefore considered that now was the time to surprise the invaders; or, as he says himself, "to beat up their quarters in the night." So, marching from Frederica with the largest body he could collect, he halted within a mile of the Spaniards, ordered his officers to form their men, and was himself about to reconnoitre the enemy's disposition, when his design was suddenly frustrated. A Frenchman, who without his knowledge had come down with some volunteers, and who proved to be a spy, fired his gun and deserted; the Indians pursued, but could not overtake him; and the General, concluding that his purpose was discovered, sent his drums in different directions beating the Grenadier's March, while the main body returned to Frederica.

Oglethorpe, knowing that the spy would expose his weakness to the Spaniards, who might therefore be induced to make another and perhaps more successful attempt, took thought how he could avert so probable a consequence; and finally determined to invalidate the Frenchman's information by making him appear to be a double spy. With this view he devised a most ingenious stratagem, which, though more circumstantially described by American historians, may be better explained in his own words:—"The next day," he writes, "I prevailed with a prisoner, and gave him a sum of money to carry a letter privately and deliver it to the Frenchman who had deserted. This letter was in French, as if from a friend of his, telling him that he had received the money; that he should strive to make the Spaniards believe the English were very

weak; that he should undertake to pilot up their boats and galleys, and then bring them under the woods where the hidden batteries were; that if he could bring all this about he should have double the reward he had already received; and that the French deserters should have all that had been promised to them.

"The Spanish prisoner got into their camp and was immediately carried before their General, Don Manuel de Montiano. He was asked how he escaped, and whether he had any letters; but, denying his having any, was strictly searched, and the letter found; and he, upon being pardoned, confessed that he had received money to deliver it to the Frenchman; for the letter was not directed. The Frenchman denied his knowing anything of the contents of the letter, or having received any money or correspondence with me. Notwithstanding which, a council of war was held, and they deemed the Frenchman a double spy; but General Montiano would not suffer him to be executed, having been employed by himself."*

To the foregoing details, the writer of a letter, dated "Charlestown, 7th September, 1742," adds that the Frenchman's pretended correspondent further urged him, in case he should not persuade the Spaniards to adopt the above measures, to induce them to stay, if but three days at St. Simon's; for within that time (as he had just received an express which informed

* From copy of dispatch, dated "Frederica, July 30, 1742," in Record Office. The original was transmitted by Lieutenant Patrick Sutherland, but the vessel in which he sailed being captured off the Lizard, he was obliged to throw his papers overboard.

him that the Carolinians were on the march) he should have 2000 men by land and six or seven men-of-war by sea; but not to mention a word about Vernon's going to Augustine.* Whether the original missive contained the last particulars or not, it sadly perplexed the Spanish commanders, who could not determine what inference to draw from it. But while they were engaged in their embarrassing deliberations, it so happened that some English vessels appeared off the coast; and this circumstance, it is said, induced them to give credit to the entire contents.†

Oglethorpe at the same time received intelligence that three or four ships were off the north end of the island, and hoping they might be coming to his assistance, he sent Lieutenant Maxwell in a boat through the northern channel, with a letter addressed to the commanding officer. In his communication, which is dated "Frederica, the 14th July, 1742," having explained the strength and situation of the hostile fleet in the Sound, and mentioned the success of the British arms by land, he continues thus:—

"I am extremely glad of your arrival, since I believe you will be able to destroy the whole Spanish fleet. I send out Captain William Morgan [master of the 'St. Philip' guard-sloop] to pilot you over the bar. If you think proper to come in, I shall attack the Spaniards by land whenever you attempt it. I should not take upon me to advise you who know so much better the sea affairs; but, in my opinion, it is

* See 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xii. p. 696.

† M'Call's 'History of Georgia,' vol. i. p. 185.

absolutely necessary for his Majesty's service and our own honour to attack them both by sea and land, and I think the best method would be to come in as they did with a leading gale, since the upper part of the harbour is entirely in our power, whereas it was not in theirs.

"I will make three smokes in the heart of the island to show that we are ready. I have three strong boats which carry about thirty men each, who will meet and assist you as soon as you are come by the Spanish fleet, and come to the bottom of the harbour. If you see an English Jack hoisted upon the seashore you may know it to be us; if it is proper I will also fire a platoon near the Jack, and make two smokes. I am, Sir, in hopes of seeing you soon, and accomplishing one of the most noble things that has been done this war, which will redound to your eternal honour as well as to the service of your King and country. If the guard-sloop 'Walker' is with you, I desire you will send her in at the north end of the island to this town, and she with our boats can certainly destroy their galleys and all their rowing craft."

Lieutenant Maxwell stood out to sea about two leagues from the north end of the island; but, no vessels being in sight, he was obliged to return to Frederica without delivering the General's letter. It subsequently appeared that one of them was the 'Flamborough' man-of-war, commanded by Captain Hamer, who, when afterwards asked why he had sailed away at so critical a time, replied that "his orders were only to come and see if the Spanish fleet had got

possession of the port, and if they had, to return immediately back to Carolina."*

Fortunately, so far, at least, as the present safety of Frederica was concerned, naval assistance was not necessary; for, on the night of the 14th, the Spaniards having burned the barracks and officers' houses at St. Simon's, and Captain Horton's house on Jekyll Island, re-embarked so precipitately, that they left their great cannon, with a considerable quantity of ammunition, provisions, etc., behind them, and those dead of their wounds unburied.

At daybreak on the 15th, the large vessels, with the Cuban forces aboard, proceeded to sea; while the Governor and troops of St. Augustine, in the smaller craft, took the inland passage, and landed at St. Andrew's, on the northern point of Cumberland, where they encamped for the night. Oglethorpe followed the latter; but, not being strong enough to attack them, sent back his scout-boats, when, meeting his own cutter, he went aboard her, and put a man ashore, who, passing the enemy's camp after nightfall, next morning reached Fort William, on the southern point of the island, and delivered a letter to Ensign Alexander Stuart, in which the General assured him of speedy succour, and commanded him to defend the fort to the utmost. Meanwhile the Spaniards, having observed the English boats, and fearing they had landed Indians during the night, at daylight decamped and set sail in great haste.

* Deposition of Lieutenant Primrose Maxwell. Sworn at Frederica, February 3, 1743.

Two days afterwards eight-and-twenty vessels appeared off Fort William, of which fifteen entered the harbour and demanded the surrender of the garrison; but young Stuart replied that neither would he yield the fort nor could they take it. Several men attempted to land, but were quickly repulsed by a detachment of Rangers, who had arrived by a forced march down the island, and who suddenly fired from behind the sand-hills which concealed them. The galleys and other vessels vainly endeavoured to batter the fort with their cannon; but a few *eighteen*-pounders, which Oglethorpe had mounted,* so disabled two of the galleys, that the enemy was obliged to abandon them; and Stuart, with but sixty men, so bravely defended the stronghold, that, after an assault of three hours, the Spaniards, discovering the approach of the General with a further reinforcement, considered they had suffered enough, and set out for St. Augustine. Oglethorpe next day sent the Rangers in boats as far as the river St. John; and the men, when they came back, informed him that the enemy had retired within their own territory. Whereupon he gave directions for repairing Fort William; and, on the 22nd, returned to Frederica.

Several English vessels appearing off St. Simon's bar on the 26th, the General again sent out Lieutenant Maxwell with a letter, which he delivered to Captain Hardy of the 'Rye,' who commanded the squadron. Four of them were King's ships, and the remainder—excepting the 'Success' and the Georgia schooner, which entered the port—consisted of a few sloops fitted

* See extract from Ordnance Report, *ante*, p. 280–1.

out by South Carolina. Maxwell, in pursuance of his instructions, requested Captain Hardy to come in and concert measures with the General; but the Captain said he had orders from the Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina to send back the vessels of that province, in case the Spaniards had gone; which he accordingly did, and further said that for his own part, he should go in search of a prize with the rest of the King's ships.*

Thus was not only the infant colony delivered by her founder from her formidable foe, but the people of South Carolina at the same time saved from the horrors of a servile war, such as those from which she had previously suffered; and that, too, by the man whom they persecuted and calumniated, because, forsooth, he would not permit their mercenary traders to cheat the Indians and poison them with rum.

Whitefield with much truth remarks:—"The deliverance of Georgia from the Spaniards is such as cannot be paralleled but by some instances out of the Old Testament. I find the Spaniards had cast lots, and determined to give no quarter. They intended to have attacked Carolina; but, wanting water, they put into Georgia, and so would take that colony on their way. . . They were wonderfully repelled, and sent away before our ships were seen."† Even the writer of the before-cited letter from Charlestown—who, by the way, most mendaciously boasts of the efforts and sacrifices of South Carolina—is constrained to say:—"That 5000

* Lieutenant Sutherland's Narrative of the Invasion.

† Whitefield's Letters, vol. i. p. 467.

men, with so good an officer as the Governor of St. Augustine, should fly before 600 or 700 men and about 100 Indians, was matter of just astonishment to all."

Oglethorpe concludes his dispatch to the Secretary of State thus :—"We have returned thanks to God for our deliverance. I have set all hands I possibly could to work upon the fortifications, and have sent to the northward to raise men ready to form another battalion, against his Majesty's orders shall arrive for that purpose. I have retained Captain Thompson's ship, have sent for cannon, shot, etc., for provisions, and all kinds of stores, since I expect the enemy, who (though greatly terrified) lost but few men in comparison of their great numbers, as soon as they have recovered their fright, will attack us again, with more caution and better discipline.

"I hope his Majesty will approve of the measures I have taken, and I must entreat your Grace to lay my humble request before his Majesty that he would be graciously pleased to order troops, artillery, and other necessaries sufficient for the defence of this frontier and the neighbouring provinces, or give such directions as his Majesty shall think proper; and I do not doubt, with a moderate support, not only to be able to defend these provinces, but also to dislodge the enemy from St. Augustine if I had but the same numbers they had in this expedition."

Not only the Governors of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, but also the people of Port Royal—greatly to the disgust of their fellow-colonists in South Carolina—

addressed letters to Oglethorpe thanking him for the invaluable services he had rendered to the British-American provinces; congratulating him upon his success and the great renown he had acquired; and expressing their gratitude to the Supreme Governor of Nations for placing the destiny of the southern colonies under the direction of a General so well qualified for the important trust.

CHAPTER XVII.

AUGUST, 1742—SEPTEMBER, 1743.

Captain Frankland, with twelve vessels of war arriving off Fort William on the 24th of August, Oglethorpe accompanied him on a cruise. They engaged some Spanish galleys, but the Captain would not allow any of the vessels under his command to venture over the bar of St. Augustine, and the General had not sufficient force of his own to do so. They then proceeded to the Metanzas, but in consequence of a council of war held by the sea-officers, the squadron broke up and the ships returned to their several stations.

About a month later Colonel Duroure was sent by Major-General Wentworth from Jamaica with a detachment of 500 men. His orders were to consult with either Oglethorpe or the Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina, whichever of them he should first meet with; and, if he found that the Spaniards had retired from the British territory, or no longer threatened it, he was to return without delay to Jamaica. The

Colonel arrived at Charlestown on the 12th of October, and next day sent an express to the General;* but meanwhile he was informed by Mr. Bull that the southern colonies were perfectly safe, and there was no necessity for him to proceed with his men to Georgia. In reference to this and other like circumstances, a gentleman of South Carolina writes as follows:—"This self-sufficiency of ours is well known to General Oglethorpe, who no doubt has been beforehand with me in animadverting upon it. . . . The General, in answer to a letter he received with that of the Colonel, expressed himself with a good deal of warmth upon our not thinking ourselves in immediate danger, and to the Colonel he answered that in his opinion the King's service required that the detachment should come to Frederica; but, since the people of this province did not apprehend immediate danger, he could not take upon himself to give any positive orders, and the Colonel was at liberty to do what should appear to him most agreeable to his instructions from General Wentworth. In this manner was an opportunity lost which I fear will never offer again."†

On the 24th of November, Oglethorpe writes from Frederica to the Principal Secretary of State:—"A matter of importance coming now to my knowledge, and having this opportunity of sending by New York to England, I could not omit acquainting your Grace

* Letter from Colonel Scipio Duroure to General Oglethorpe, dated "Charlestown, October 13, 1742."—Georgia MS., Record Office.

† Extract of a letter from Mr. Hector Berenger de Beaufain to the Earl of Egmont, dated "Charlestown, 6th March, 1743."—Georgia MS. Record Office.

that a party of our Rangers have been surprised and most of them killed by the Yamasee, who are Spanish Indians. They burned Mount Venture, and thereby opened a passage into the upper settlements of Georgia, over the northern branch of the Alatamaha river. I shall strive to build a stronger place at the passage. But it is not only this matter and the consequences of it that makes me trouble you; but that one of our Indians taken by the Spanish Indians at that place escaped from them after they had held him some days on their return towards St. Augustine. They told him that since the late invasion and repulse here, the Spaniards had received succours of men by sea at St. Augustine; that they had lost a great many men in their last attempt, which they were now resolved to revenge; and that they expected the French would attack us along the river Savannah, while the Spaniards would take this place.

"I shall do all I can to baulk their expectations, but the condition we are in is such that I hope your Grace will excuse my so frequently troubling you with our necessities and my demands. It was with much difficulty, and not without the apparent hand of God, that we made head this last time against a vastly superior force; and that with a few cannon. Doubtless they they are stronger now and will take better measures; but we have no addition, and the men-of-war have refused to stay in this port. I know it is near the enemy, but am persuaded the declining of danger can never be the reason of choosing a more distant post. However, as they are not here, I have been obliged to

keep the same twenty-gun merchant ship that did fight the last time for the defence of this harbour. I am forced to be at very considerable expenses; but the sparing of them would be very ill economy, since it would probably be the loss of the country. Permit me to acquaint your Grace that, if this Province is conquered by the Spaniards, the negroes in the next will probably join with the enemy. God alone can tell how their success may extend. This I can say, that the knowing what a terrible consequence the loss of this place would be has made me expend my fortune and expose my person much more than by the strictest rules of duty I should have been obliged to do. I hope that your Grace will apply to his Majesty that this frontier may be supported, or that I may not be blamed if I die in an unsuccessful defence of it; for the being killed in our duty is all that the bravest man or best officer that wants the necessary means of war can do."

Oglethorpe, as he commonly did, on the same day writes to Mr. Stone, one of the Under Secretaries of State, hoping that the friendship that gentleman had always shown would make him excuse his troubling him so often. He complains of the stupidity, "not to say worse," of the Carolinians in having prevented the men-of-war from coming to his assistance during the invasion. If he had had but one twenty-gun ship in addition to that which he had, it would have hindered the enemy's entrance and saved upwards of twenty thousand pounds' worth of property from being destroyed. The Spaniards intend, if they succeed in Georgia, to push their conquests as far as Virginia.

All North and South Carolina are full of provisions; and a very busy Spanish faction stirring at Charlestown. He then begs to know how he is to act: whether he is to take the train of artillery at Charlestown; whether the men-of-war are to assist according to his directions; whether, pursuant to his Majesty's former orders, he is to continue to defend his dominions as far as the bounds laid down in the charter of King Charles II.; and whether he is to continue hiring the Indians, Rangers, and boatmen; keeping the magazines full of stores; and finishing the necessary fortifications. If he is not to act in this manner, he requests instructions what he is to do with a single battalion, without provisions, cannon, or horses, in the neighbourhood of a powerful enemy well furnished with all these necessaries of war. In conclusion he urges Mr. Stone to put the Duke of Newcastle frequently in mind of laying these matters before the King, so as to obtain some definite answer; "for," he says, "my remaining in uncertainty may not only prove fatal to myself, but very probably the consequences of it may be the loss of two or three provinces."

While perusing the numerous instances of official lethargy and perversity with which the old documents relating to the colony of Georgia abound, and of which but comparatively few specimens appear in this volume, I could not but often recall to mind the well-known remark of Oxenstiern,—"See, my son, with how little wisdom nations are governed!"

On the 22nd of January, 1743, Oglethorpe addressed two letters to the Duke of Newcastle, to whom

he at the same time transmitted numerous documents, amongst which was a copy of his lost dispatch. In the longer or general letter, having mentioned some of the ill effects which attended the conduct of the sea-captains and the Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina in their neglect of his advices concerning the movements of the enemy, he says:—"I hope this good use may be made of a bad accident, that it may give weight to the representations of those who are near danger, and who can certainly perceive the danger and take the measures necessary for defence sooner than those at a distance can. His Majesty has been pleased to pour his favours on me, far above my deserts or capacity; yet, let me be never so personally inconsiderable, I should be wanting in my duty if I did not maintain the character of General of his Majesty's forces in two frontier provinces, since he has honoured me with it.* It is the duty of that office, and my standing orders, to defend these provinces. I saw the danger every day more certain, and too near to receive support or orders from England on such an emergency; therefore, as in duty bound, made all the preparations I could; those occasioned expense, and that expense was crowned with success, and I drew for sums toward defraying it. Had I done otherwise, and for want of those necessary assistances of Indians, vessels, Rangers, provisions, etc., had lost these provinces, I should have deserved to have answered it with my life."

* The only acknowledgment of Oglethorpe's services in America was his appointment, on the 13th of February, 1743, as Brigadier-General. His further promotion followed in time as a matter of course. The title of 'General' which he had previously borne was but honorary and local.

The other letter to the Secretary of State begins thus :—"This goes by Captain Dunbar with the prize sloop taken by him, which I formerly mentioned. I retained her here to help to make the defence against the Spaniards. I now send him to surrender her to his Majesty's orders. When I fitted out privateers at his Majesty's expense, I gave in orders that the officers and men, both sailors and soldiers, should have the half of every prize for their encouragement, and his Majesty the other half towards defraying the expense of fitting them; and whereby, if we had success, a fund would arise for the increasing of the privateers for guarding the coast and annoying the Spaniards."

He begs, however, that in this case the captors may have the full value of the prize, as they had behaved extremely well, and that the King may order the sloop to be repaired and sent back to Georgia for the defence of the Province. He likewise recommends Captain Dunbar to his Grace's protection; adding, "he has been with me from the first settlement, and has distinguished himself on every occasion." The General also informs the Under Secretary that he had sent Dunbar to solicit his affairs in England, and desires that Mr. Stone will esteem what the Captain says as coming from himself.

The captors, it is to be feared, had very little remaining for them in the end; for the sloop with her cargo of "dry goods" and some bad brandy were preserved by the Government for many months. Amongst the Georgia papers are copies of half-a-dozen "Memorials" from Captain Dunbar to his Grace of Newcastle,

On the 23rd of June he begs for an answer respecting the sloop, as a daily expense continued and she was badly wanted in the colony in the room of the guard-sloop that had taken her, which was lost in the invasion. Yet it was not till the end of August that the prize was so much as valued; but *when* the cargo was eventually disposed of and the proceeds distributed we are left to guess.*

To return to Georgia. On the 22nd of February, Oglethorpe, in a letter to the Secretary of State, reminds his Grace that Captain Dunbar had carried over some prisoners, among whom was a lieutenant of horse; so that if Lieutenant Sutherland, whom he had sent express to announce the repulse of the enemy, had been taken, as was reported, the Spanish officer would furnish an exchange. The General next writes from "Camp on the river St. Mattheo, or St. John, in Florida, 12th March, 1743":—

"My Lord,—I prevailed with the Creek Indians to send a large party of their warriors to join me. The Spaniards at St. Augustine were so strengthened by the troops left there after the invasion of Georgia, that they repulsed all the parties of Indians I could send against them. I also had intelligence of a strong party of men marching towards the river St. Mattheo.

* The computed value of both sloop and contents amounted to £621; but probably her heavier and more perishable cargo had been disposed of in America. Her capture must have been a sad vexation to the ladies of St. Augustine; for amongst the "dry goods" were several dozens of silk and thread hose, 12 pieces of silks, 3 ditto of "poplings," 2 of scarlet camlets, 2 of flowered damask, 42 of lawns, and 19 lb. of silk ribands, besides 228 lb. of wax candles, 46 pairs of trousers, and one negro boy.

As I concluded this was to enlarge their quarters ready for the reception of the vast body of troops they expect in the spring from the Havannah, and with which they propose to invade all North America, and to begin with the conquest of Georgia and Carolina, I therefore thought the best measure I could take was to oppose them in time, and myself in person to lead the Indians and dispute the field before their troops came from Cuba.

"I therefore, with detachments of the Highland company, of the Rangers, and of the regiment, landed in the night in Florida, and had such success that the Indians advanced undiscovered, attacked the Spaniards, and killed upwards of forty of them; but one of our party being killed. They would give no prisoners quarter; therefore I have no intelligence. I march to-morrow, and if I have success I trust in God I shall be able to force the Spaniards once more back to the shelter of the town, which I shall look upon as a great point gained; since it will delay their intended operations, and give heart to our Indians and keep them steady to his Majesty's interests. They were a great deal staggered by some strange steps taken by the Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina, which Captain Dunbar will inform your Grace of; but any success I can now have will be only putting off for a short time the fatal blow which must attend the vast preparations making at Cuba, if we are not strongly and speedily supported. . . . I dare not at present write more particularly lest this should fall into the enemy's hands."

On the 21st, he again writes from Florida:—"The

Spaniards have quitted the field and are retired into St. Augustine. The troops made a very extraordinary march in four days of ninety-six miles; for so many it is from this place to St. Augustine and back again; and this we performed without leaving one sick man behind us, and the whole party in health and strength. I hear from all hands that there is a strong body of troops in Augustine, and can hardly conceive the reason of their behaviour and precipitate retreat from numbers so much inferior to them; unless they have orders from their court to preserve their strength entire for their intended invasion. I did all I could to draw them into action, and, having posted the grenadiers and some of the troops in ambuscade, advanced myself with a very few men in sight of the town, in tending to skirmish and retire, in order to draw them into the ambuscade; but they were so meek that there was no provoking them. The Indians advanced so nimbly as to get up with a party of the enemy, and killed forty of them under the cannon of the town."

Oglethorpe's narrative is illustrated by the following paragraph of a letter, dated "British Camp on Spanish Florida, March 25, 1743," from one of his officers to a friend in Carolina:—"The Spaniards bearing all these insults gives our Indians a very contemptible notion of them. The General encourages this contempt in the Indians, though he at the same time believes it is no want of courage in the Spaniards, but that by their forbearance they wait to provoke him to some rash action, or to engage on disadvantageous ground, which —notwithstanding the General's vivacity—he seems

always cautious to beware of. It is probable too that they may have orders not to hazard anything in small actions, but to keep their troops entire till the arrival of the armament, which, it is reported, they are preparing at Cuba."*

While Oglethorpe's land force occupied strong posts near the river, from whence he supported the Indians, his schooner, with her consort the 'Success,' cruised off the coast of Florida; and it would appear that he himself was occasionally on the water, for the German chronicler of the colony mentions that, while he was sailing up the channel to reconnoitre St. Augustine, he came very near being killed by the bursting of a gun on board his shallop. He was so severely hurt that the blood gushed from his ears and nose; but he soon collected himself and cheered up his attendants.†

In April he returned to Frederica with the Indians, "who," writes a citizen of Charlestown, "are much charmed by his Excellency's noble conduct, and whose adherence to the English is now too well established for even the nonsense and malevolence of this place to remove or weaken. This late motion of his has done an inconceivable service to our quiet here for the present, though we murmur because *he* was the actor; for the majority of this town are delighted with nothing more than to lay hold on all occasions to vilify the man to whom they owe their protection."‡

* Georgia Manuscripts; Record Office.

† Urlsperger, ii. 'Diarium.'

‡ Letter from Andrew Rutledge, Esq., Chief Justice of South Carolina, to M. Harman Verelst dated "Charlestown, 27th April, 1743."

Concerning the Carolinians, Captain Dunbar, in an application to the Duke of Newcastle for instructions as to how the General should act under circumstances presently to appear, points out that what were thought to be the sentiments of that province was no more than the voice of Charlestown factors, who for their commissions bartered the effects of British merchants with the planters for their crops, and who would never put the welfare of their country in competition with their profit in trade. And he adds that the real welfare and opinion of the landed interest appeared in nothing so plain as in the Address to the General from Port Royal, a copy of which had been left at his Grace's house. The same officer, in a paper headed 'Captain Dunbar's Observations from his own knowledge relating to the consequence of Georgia as a frontier to the other British Provinces,' likewise points out that, since the establishment of the new colony, the value of land in Carolina, especially towards the south, had very considerably increased; that that province now enjoyed more tranquillity even in time of war, than formerly in time of peace, and could not be invaded but through Georgia; that a country wherein slaves were so numerous and the sole wealth—a fact which the Spaniards well knew how to take advantage of, as appeared from their having a regiment of negroes in their late invasion*—

* Cloake deposed that the negro regiment of the invaders had a company of grenadiers like other regiments, and their pay was the same as that of other corps. The officers also were negroes, and he saw several of them, in gold and silver-laced uniforms, walking with the Governor of St. Augustine on shore.—'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xii. p. 661.

could only be defended by a frontier, and not by fortified places, "if it had any;" and that one hundred men on the frontier afforded much greater security to the Carolinas than would many hundreds within these provinces. These remarks form a suitable introduction to the following letter from Oglethorpe to the Secretary of State :—

"FREDERICA, 22*nd April*, 1743.

"My Lord,—A very extraordinary transaction that has happened in Carolina obliges me to trouble your Grace, since, if proper remedies are not applied, the consequences may be detrimental in the highest degree to his Majesty's affairs in America.

"As I am always willing to put the best construction upon every man's actions, I would not trouble your Grace with the conduct of the Lieutenant-Governor of Carolina and his advisers, before the late invasion, because I believe it proceeded from ignorance, and that I should be able to prevent their actions doing any hurt to his Majesty's service.

"The Spaniards are now preparing (as advices from all sides say) for an expedition from the Havannah. In their late invasion of this Province, one of our chief advantages lay in their want of pilots and guides. The Governor of St. Augustine has sent a Spanish vessel to Charlestown to exchange prisoners, many of whom are pilots by water or guides by land. Lieutenant-Governor Bull suffered this vesssl, which was commanded by Don Domingo de la Croix, one of the Spaniards' best pilots, to go over, and consequently know, the bar of that town, and ventured to receive a message from his

Majesty's enemies without acquainting the General who commands in chief his Majesty's forces in that province. He also received Alexander Paris, who piloted the Spaniards into St. Simon's harbour, and who now walks about Charlestown at full liberty.*

"These pilots may be of the greatest consequence to the Spaniards in the ensuing expedition, if designed against us, since it lays our harbours open, and makes the fastnesses of our woods less advantageous. What makes this step more extraordinary is that many of them were prisoners taken by me, or ransomed by me from the Indians, whom I sent up to Charlestown lest they should escape in the late invasion; and at that place they gave them liberty of going about, by which means they have been made acquainted with the weakness of the country and the disposition of the negroes. One prisoner sent into Augustine is equal to five or six delivered in Spain, since every recruit to that garrison costs the crown of Spain between forty and fifty pounds sterling.

"Every advice I send up they slight, so far that, though I sent notice to Charlestown that the Spanish armada for the invasion was actually arrived at St. Augustine, the Lieutenant-Governor not only treated the advices with contempt, but talked in such a manner of them that Captain Frankland, in the 'Rose,' went to his station at Providence, and no assistance arrived here till eleven days after the Spaniards were beat out

* Alexander Paris was a Carolinian who had settled in Florida. The Spaniards said they should not have found out Georgia but for him.—S. Cloake's Deposition.

of this Province, which was very near two months from the first advices. The frequent hindrances he [Mr. Bull] gave to my buying things necessary for the defence, and to the planters who were willing to join me, and many other particulars, I shall not trouble your Grace with. But this is not out of disregard to me, he professing a personal attachment and even gratitude to me for soliciting and carrying over his commission as Lieutenant-Governor, without suffering him even to pay the fees."

With the above letter the General enclosed copies of several depositions sworn before the Lieutenant-Governor and the Council of South Carolina by Alexander Paris and others, which corroborate his assertions concerning the warlike preparations of the Spaniards; and, on the 25th of May, he forwards another batch of papers, accompanied by a brief note saying that intelligence of a remarkable nature having come to his hands from the Indians, as also from a merchant of Charlestown, he thought it his duty to lay the documents before the Government, for which purpose he sends them to Captain Dunbar.

From these papers it appears that the Spaniards, having suffered so much from Oglethorpe's Indian allies, had earnestly renewed their efforts to seduce them; and that in consequence of the Governor's invitation several of them had gone to St. Augustine, where they saw a number of vessels from Charlestown delivering not only provisions, but ammunition in the harbour! So much will suffice concerning South Carolina. But the declaration of Similly, a Creek chief, is

worthy of more particular notice, as it vividly illustrates the strong personal attachment of the red men to Oglethorpe.

Similly went into St. Augustine, as he said, "to know what they were doing." The Spaniards spoke kindly of the Creeks, desired to be friends with them, and promised them 100 pieces of eight for every English prisoner, and half that sum for an English scalp. They then showed him fine scarlet clothes and a sword which they had given to the Captain of the Yamasees, and, having asked him whether the "Squire" (meaning Oglethorpe) had ever given them so much, said:—"He is poor; he can give you nothing; it is foolish for you to go to him." But the Creek answered,—"We love him. It is true he does not give us silver; but he gives us everything we want that he has. He has given me the coat off his back and the blanket from under him." Thereupon they quarreled with him, and one of them threatening to make him prisoner, wounded him with a sword; but he escaped, and afterwards showed the scar to the "Squire." Similly further declared that the town was full of soldiers, negroes as well as white men; and that whilst he was there he saw two prisoners and several scalps brought in that were taken at Mount Venture.*

American writers, in their blind endeavours to give a reason for Oglethorpe's quitting Georgia, make the most preposterous and groundless assertions. Thus Mr. Spalding—a very trustworthy authority so far as

* Declaration of Similly, interpreted and certified by Mary Matthews, April 22, 1743.—Georgia MS.; Record Office.

local knowledge is concerned—says, the high military reputation which the General had acquired in Europe by the result of the Spanish war in Georgia had drawn upon him the eyes of the British Ministry, who were beginning to tremble at the rumours of an expected invasion by the Pretender; that, from the consideration in which Oglethorpe was held by the High Church and Jacobite parties, with whom it was supposed his presence in the army would have a beneficial influence, the Government desired his return; and he therefore received positive orders to embark for England.* Mr. T. M. Harris, on the other hand, attributes the General's return at this period to the treachery of Lieutenant-Colonel Cook, of which there will be occasion to speak in the next chapter; and a third compiler assigns it to the intrigues of the Carolinians. But, unfortunately for these samples of imaginative biography, our old colonial records exhibit the plain truth.

Captain George Dunbar, in one of his numerous Memorials to the Duke of Newcastle, reminds his Grace that he was instructed by the General to ask leave for him to come home "at such time as he should find it necessary for the King's service, by reason there may be occasions that require his attendance in order to lay before his Majesty the situation of that country."† There is no evidence to show whether the

* 'Collections of the Georgia Historical Society,' vol. i. p. 285.

† Mr. Furye had already applied, in August 1740, for a discretionary power in the General to return from his command "whenever the service would permit of his absence."—Georgia MS., No. 24, 157.

request was immediately granted; and, even if it were, it would seem hardly possible that Oglethorpe could have received notice of his leave of absence before his departure from America. But, whether or not, he had but too much cause for coming to England; for his pecuniary resources were dried up, and bills which he had drawn "for his Majesty's service," to the amount of £12,000, had been returned dishonoured! Having therefore put the frontier in the best possible state of defence, and relying upon the fidelity of his Indians, he left Mr. Stephens as Deputy-Governor at Savannah, and Major Horton as military commander at Frederica, where, on the 23rd of July, 1743, he embarked in the 'Success.' Just before he quitted Georgia—for the last time, as it proved, though he then hoped soon to return—there occurred an incident which is worthy of relation, as being not only interesting in itself, but valuable as an exemplification of Oglethorpe's character.

It will be recollected that one of the prisoners taken by the Spaniards at Fort Moosa, in 1740, was Captain John Moore M'Intosh. He and his unfortunate companions, being stripped of their clothes, and their hands tied behind their backs, were brought into St. Augustine, where they remained in confinement for four months, during which time they were civilly treated by the Governor. Oglethorpe having then no prisoner of sufficient rank to exchange for the Captain, he was carried to the Havannah, and after passing three months there, was sent to St. Sebastian, in Old Spain, where he was confined in the common jail with-

out any allowance but bread and water.* The poor Captain was released in the following year, but died not long after his return to Georgia, leaving two sons, William and Lachlan.

These youths the General attached to his regiment as cadets, with the intention of obtaining commissions for them in due time. They, however, heard rumours of an intended rising in their native Highlands, and hoping to retrieve the fortunes of their fallen house, resolved to return as best they could to Scotland, and follow the standard of the Pretender. With this object the brothers concealed themselves in the hold of a vessel which was ready to sail in company with the 'Success;' but, ere the anchors were heaved, they were discovered and brought before the General. He called them into his private cabin, when they ingenuously confessed their foolish purpose. Having reminded them of his esteem for their father, and of his kind feeling towards themselves, he then endeavoured to persuade them of the hopelessness of every attempt of the Stuarts, and of their own folly in wishing to engage in a rash and desperate struggle. But the lads not appearing to be convinced, he told them that in strictness it was his duty as an officer of the reigning House to put them under arrest; "Yet," he added, "assure me that you will think no more of your wild project; keep your own secret, and I shall forget all that has passed between us." The brothers, now subdued, promised to follow the General's advice;

* Petitions and Letters of John Moore M'Intosh, amongst the Georgia MSS. in Record Office.

he then sent them ashore, and they never again saw their benefactor; nor was it till many years afterwards that Brigadier-General Lachlan M'Intosh, of the Revolutionary Army, related to his biographer the story of his last interview with Oglethorpe.*

* 'Memoir of General Lachlan M'Intosh,' in 'National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans.' New York (1836), vol. iii.

CHAPTER XVIII.

AUGUST, 1743—DECEMBER, 1744.

Admiral Vernon received the thanks of Parliament for the service he had done his King and country in taking Porto Bello; and the people were elated by an exploit which was magnified much above its merit. But the man who had done vastly more than any other to curb the power of Spain in America was awarded no public acknowledgment. He who had saved Carolina and shielded our other American provinces, who, with a mere handful of men, without naval or any other co-operation, had repulsed a comparatively prodigious armament, returned home, not—as has been ignorantly asserted—to enjoy the retirement of his country-seat at Godalming and rest under the shadow of his laurels, but to encumber his estates on account of the liabilities he had incurred for the public service.

The reader will remember that, in July, 1741, Sir Robert Walpole, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, directed Mr. Verelst to inform the General he was to

draw no more bills till further orders; but Oglethorpe, before he received such notification, having drawn other bills to meet current engagements, Sir Robert told Verelst to have the papers laid before the Lords Justices, "as they related to a new credit." Their Excellencies not only passed these accounts, but sanctioned an additional outlay, which amounted to above £8000 a year. The General's agent subsequently obtained an imprest from the Treasury for £3123, being rather more than the amount of the bills that were on sea at the same time as Mr. Verelst's letter of advice; but when he applied for an imprest on account of the extra services sanctioned by the Regency, the new Lords of the Treasury did not think proper to give any directions concerning bills drawn after November, 1741.

Verelst, in a letter on the 10th of April, 1742, having informed Mr. Stone of the answer from the Treasury, begs of him to lay the matter before the Duke of Newcastle, "that," as he writes, "the General's affairs may not suffer by continuing expenses for want of orders to reduce them, if thought necessary. It would be hard to stop his credit abroad by permitting his bills to go back protested, which he has drawn in the state of uncertainty he represents himself to be in; and therefore I hope, Sir, compassion for an absent man risking his fortune in doing what he thinks right will plead for my requesting your favour of personally interposing to obtain proper orders for him."

On the 13th, Verelst hopes for Mr. Stone's interest with the Earl of Wilmington; but to little purpose, for

on the 24th of July, the Under-Secretary is informed by him that the Sheriff of London, who had eight of the General's protested bills, had sent a notary to demand a peremptory answer, as a ship was going in a few days, and he could wait no longer. In August Verelst once more petitions the Treasury, and on the 31st acquaints Mr. Stone that their Lordships having replied that they had neither authority nor money to pay Oglethorpe's bills drawn for the King's service, several of them had been sent back. "The merchants," he adds, "who own the General's bills unsatisfied will be entitled to twenty per cent. for re-exchange, commission, and charges, which must in the end fall on the public to pay, as I am satisfied he can justify his expenses approved the 19th of October, 1741, which could not be defrayed but by drawing bills. I hope your good offices will set this matter right, for the merchants will not sit quiet, but apply themselves if I cannot succeed."

Verelst, writing again to Stone on the 7th of September, says that, had any directions been given on the referee's report upon Oglethorpe's proposal last year, probably all this would not have happened. The detractors of Georgia and of the General might too late repent their ill-treatment of both; and he feared they were doing the enemy's business. Verelst next waited on Lord Carteret, who said that the stress was laid by the Treasury upon the late Chancellor's order of July, 1741, to draw no more bills. To this the agent replied by remarking that such order was superseded by the directions of the Lords Justices in October follow-

ing; which his Lordship was pleased to say was "self-evident." And on the same day Verelst submits to Lord Wilmington's consideration, whether it would not be for his Majesty's service to pay as extraordinaries of the war such of the General's bills as had not gone back.

Towards the end of September Verelst prepared another petition; but Mr. Wood recommended that the delivery of it should be postponed, because he would have occasion to speak in the meantime to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Lord Carteret told him that he had spoken to the Duke of Newcastle about not letting the General's bills drawn since the invasion go back dishonoured. Nevertheless, several weeks after the third memorial was presented, three objections were made by their Lordships:—

I. They questioned the new credit.

II. They had neither money nor authority to discharge the General's bills.

III. The bills were not drawn on a public officer.

But Verelst, informing Mr. Stone of these absurd objections, very clearly refutes each of them thus:—

I. Expenses approved, without a fund appropriated to meet them, could not be defrayed otherwise than by drawing bills.

II. This, it is hoped, the Committee of Supply will remove.

III. This should have been set right at first by the objection being then made, and not after the credit of such bills had been established by the payment of them for two years.

"However," he adds, "the General, if he has occasion, will for the future draw on the Paymaster-General;" and in conclusion, he suggests that a vote of one sum for extraordinaries of war in the defence of Georgia, before, under, and since the invasion thereof, would be the shortest method to adopt.

We find Verelst once more petitioning the Treasury on the 5th of March, 1743. Pending the consideration he writes to Lord Orford, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, acquainting him with the objections that had been raised in consequence of his Lordship's order of July, 1741, and begging of him to do the General the justice to signify to the Paymaster of the army the subsequent order, and the confirmation thereof by the Lords Justices. A few days later the indefatigable agent writes at great length to Mr. Sandys, Walpole's successor as head of the Exchequer; and, having recapitulated the whole affair, he adds:—"I therefore humbly move your Honour that, as no bills of General Oglethorpe's have been satisfied for above ten months past, the imprest now prayed for by my said petition [£8000] being under the value of one year's approved expenses defrayed, and under the new credit arising from such approbation, may be granted to General Oglethorpe upon account of his Majesty's service, whereby some relief will arise to him in reimbursement, until he either brings or sends over his accounts."

It would appear from a document endorsed "State of General Oglethorpe's approved expenses for his Majesty's service," that his official letters were moved

for in the House of Commons, on the 30th of March. They were accordingly delivered; and on the 5th of April Verelst sends Stone a statement of facts for the guidance of Mr. Pelham, as the issue depended upon the expression of his opinion in the House. The crisis being now come, Verelst hopes that this favourable opportunity of that statesman's distinguishing himself in support of an officer exhausting his own substance in the King's service will excite Mr. Pelham's generous and humane character to exert itself. A week afterwards, he informs Stone, General Wade was so affected by the discredit Oglethorpe laboured under, that, upon perusing the facts laid before him, he waited on Mr. Pelham, who told him of the Treasury opposing any assistance until accounts and vouchers should arrive. But General Wade replied that, though accounts were necessary, yet a credit was due for what services had been approved; and, if not to be supported, Oglethorpe should have orders to disband the provincial troops and put an end to the service. "The Treasury," adds the agent, "will not issue anything but what Parliament justifies them in; and, if accounts arrive ever so clear after Parliament rises, their answer on future applications will be the same,—that their money is all appropriated. I hope therefore this essential service may not suffer for form's sake, which is the only objection to it. But General Wade thinks the interposing of Parliament is a justification to the Treasury, and therefore that they ought not to oppose it. I hope you will be early at the House to-day, and in the meantime receive my Lord Duke's instructions on this occa-

sion, to communicate to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as there appears a real necessity for them."

But, despite all Verelst's pains during the session, nothing further was done in the matter by Parliament, although the object of his appeal was merely that the House should present an address asking his Majesty to order the sum of £8000 to be paid, so as to serve as a justification to the Treasury for the disbursement of that amount upon account, until proper directions were sent to the General, and his vouchers should arrive. So, on the 10th of August, we find the agent applying to Mr. Pelham to have a petition to the Regency read while the Lord Chancellor, who had expressed a favourable opinion, was in town. On the same day he encloses Stone a copy of the letter to Mr. Pelham. "What effect it may have," he writes, "I cannot say; but am wearied out with solicitations; my spirits gone, and under the greatest pressure, which it would be some alleviation to find a reason for,—why these things should be without rectitude, notwithstanding so good a cause for fifteen months past." Here ends Verelst's correspondence with the several members of the 'Patriot' administration; and at the same time Captain Dunbar presented his final memorial to the Duke of Newcastle. Their last appeals do not appear to have been more successful than their first; but, to the great relief of his trusty agents, the General himself reached London on the 28th of September. His malignant adversaries, however, had arrived before him.

The faction at Charlestown, it will be remembered,

in order to cover the dastardly conduct of the Carolina militia on the expedition against St. Augustine, not only threw the blame of the miscarriage upon Oglethorpe, but lauded to the skies Vanderdussen, the hero of their adoption; and the same line of policy also served as an excuse for withholding assistance during the invasion of Georgia. So, when Mr. Francis Moore —who had been sent by Major Heron for immediate help—got to Charlestown, the greater part of the inhabitants, as he wrote, did not so much as believe the letters and message which he brought, "but laid wagers that it was only a fling of the General's to see how they would behave." Yet, when his reports were confirmed beyond all doubt, those very people who had been the most incredulous were now the most terrified, expecting the Spaniards every moment. At last it was determined to make a show of co-operation, with respect to which Moore remarked:—"Had there been no mobbing or disputes about the Governor's choosing Colonel Vanderdussen to command this expedition, we might in all probability by this time have been at Frederica. As it is, I am afraid we shall be too late."*

The said Alexander Vanderdussen was a Dutchman who, as appears from his own confession, was obliged to leave his native country in consequence of an attempt upon the life of his uncle, whose daughter he wished to seduce. He was subsequently employed by the Spaniards in the Philippine Islands, and was promised promotion in their service, but went to Curaçao, whence, without the knowledge or passport of the

* Letter to Trustees, dated "Charlestown, 13th of July, 1742."

Governor, he carried off a wealthy lady with her effects, and settled in South Carolina.*

Oglethorpe, however, found a still more treacherous enemy in one of his own officers whom he had greatly befriended. He had not only raised William Cooke, the original Major of his regiment, to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy, but also appointed him chief engineer, at an additional salary of fifteen shillings a day, and likewise gave extra pay to Ensign Eyre, Cooke's son-in-law, as his assistant. When, as has been before shown, the invasion of Georgia appeared imminent, Cooke under pretence of illness went to Charlestown; and, leaving the General to do the duty for which he drew pay, he joined the Carolina faction. He thence sailed for England; and, hoping thereby to justify his own delinquencies, some time after his arrival, lodged at the Horse Guards a complaint comprising no fewer than nineteen charges against his commanding officer. Oglethorpe had long been informed of the intrigues which Cooke, Vanderdusssen, and other disgraced and disaffected persons were carrying on against him in England; but, conscious of his own integrity, he wasted not a moment's thought upon the venomous attacks of these reptiles, awaiting the time when, having discharged his higher duties, he should have leisure to subvert their calumnies.†

When the General arrived in London he desired

* Declaration of Lieutenant Patrick Sutherland, in the same ship with whom Vanderdussen sailed for England, in August, 1742, and to whom he revealed these incidents of his life.

† 'Collections of the Georgia Historical Society,' vol. i. p. 285.

that the accusations might be immediately investigated, but Cooke giving in the names of several persons in America who, as he stated, were essential witnesses, the inquiry was adjourned until the 4th of June, 1744, when a Board of General Officers scrutinized the charges article after article; and, after sitting three days, pronounced the whole to be "groundless, false, and malicious." The court having reported accordingly, and informed the King of various facts which had been proved against Cooke, his Majesty confirmed the finding, and expelled the Lieutenant-Colonel from his service.* The character of the General, observes an American annalist, "now appeared in resplendent light; and his contemporaries acknowledged, what impartial history must record, that to him Carolina was indebted for her safety and repose, as well as Georgia for existence and protection."†

Meanwhile Oglethorpe was not unmindful of the interests of his colony, as we find from the following letter, of the 24th of August, 1744, to the Duke of Newcastle:—

"My Lord,—I have frequently applied to your Grace, myself as well as by letter, to acquaint you of the danger of the Province where I have the honour to command. I particularly represented long ago the want of artillery as well as powder in Georgia, as also the necessity of supporting the Indian nations—of whom I have one chief with me—and the benefit of getting

* 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xiv. p. 336.

† Holmes, 'Annals of America,' vol. ii. p. 19.

them to assist in the war.* I further acquainted your Grace of what I thought necessary for the defence of Carolina and Georgia, from the experience gathered by near ten years spent in those Provinces, as well as from the efforts of a Spanish invasion of much larger force than that enemy can now make. I have received no answer to these proposals; but hear that measures entirely opposite are to be pursued, and which I think would be detrimental, and can be proved to be of no manner of service, but a useless expense.

"I have received the enclosed advices; your Grace will be the best judge what credit to give to them.† I have the ship 'Success,' which mounts upwards of twenty guns, ready to take in stores and carry over the Indian chief, who can raise several hundred warriors. If your Grace moves his Majesty that in time we might have artillery and powder sent, this will be a proper occasion. Whatever may be the event, I

* "When the General returned to England for the last time in 1743, he took with him an Indian boy, son of one of the chiefs, who received a pretty liberal education, and returned to Georgia a polished man, and when he went into the Creek nation considerable expectations were entertained from his influence in planting the seeds of civilization amongst his countrymen; but he soon returned to his native habits."—M'Call, 'History of Georgia,' vol. i. p. 324.

† Amongst the enclosures were letters from Major William Horton, then in military command at Frederica. The Major had learned that the Spaniards were making great preparations for another expedition against Georgia, as they wanted a better harbour than St. Augustine. He, therefore, daily expected a visit from them; but thanked God that his officers and men were in good health; the Highlanders, Rangers, and boatmen were still at their several stations; and all were determined not to give up the Colony but with their lives. Yet he was under great difficulty in supporting the troops and the Indians.—Georgia Papers: Record Office.

have not in any shape neglected making all applications, so that I cannot be blamed for any loss that may happen.

"I find by the enclosed, the letters I sent to Georgia were not received; and I hear from other hands that they were intercepted at Charlestown. I wrote to the Secretary at War the enclosed letter, upon which he told me to acquaint your Grace it was properly in your province. I therefore enclose the whole to your Grace."

In his letter to the Right Hon. Sir William Yonge, Oglethorpe sent Lieutenant Sutherland's declaration respecting Vanderdussen, who had the effrontery to apply for a company in a royal regiment, and of whom he remarks:—"You may see how improper he is to have trust reposed in him; besides, it would derogate greatly from the honour of his Majesty's commissions if they were debased by being given to creatures of this kind. I thought, therefore, it was proper to make you acquainted with the character of the man, lest you might be surprised by the impudence of his application. He is farther, as I hear, under legal incapacities, and had he been in the regular troops as he was in the militia, he would have been broke for his misbehaviour at the expedition against St. Augustine."

In the month of March preceding, Oglethorpe had been selected as one of the General Officers appointed to oppose the threatened invasion from France; and, in May, we find his name amongst the additional members of the General Committee of the Foundling Hospital, to which institution Mr. Harman Verelst was then Secretary.

But later in the year occurred an event of more personal interest,—even his marriage at the ripe age of fifty-five.* The lady of his choice—or, perhaps more properly the lady who chose him—was Elizabeth, the only surviving child, and heiress of Sir Nathan Wright, Bart., of Cranham Hall, Essex.† The marriage took place on the 15th of September, the bride being then in her thirty-sixth year; and, we are told by one who was intimately acquainted with the family that, "to her magnanimity and prudence, on an occasion of much difficulty, it was owing that the evening of their lives was tranquil and pleasant, after a stormy noon."‡

Mrs. Oglethorpe's property, which was of considerable value, came in good time to her husband; for, although he retained possession of his patrimonial estate in Surrey, it was many years before the heavy incumbrances with which it had been burthened were cleared off; and he never more resided at Westbrook. Various reasons have been assigned for his shutting up the house. He is said to have often visited the manor,

* The marriage of General Oglethorpe to Miss Sambrooke, sister of the late Sir Jeremy Sambrooke, Baronet, was erroneously announced as having taken place on the 30th of August in the same year.—See 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xiv. pp. 451 and 506.

† Sir Nathan Wright was nephew to the Lord Keeper, of that name. The first Baronet of the family was Sir Benjamin, who, having "at his own expense defrayed the charges of the embassy to Spain and of King Charles II.'s residence in that kingdom during his Majesty's exile," was advanced to the dignity, in 1660. Mrs. Oglethorpe was the daughter of the third Baronet by his fourth wife, Abigail, daughter of Samuel Tryst, Esq., of Culworth, Northamptonshire.—Monumental Inscription, Cranham Church; and 'English Baronets,' London, 1727, vol. ii. p. 200.

‡ Obituary notice, signed "S."—(Mr. Granville Sharpe?) 'Gentleman's Magazine,' 1787, p. 1025.

without going inside the abode; and it has been surmised that he was once arrested there, and then made a vow never to enter it again.*

The little village of Cranham, adjacent to Upminster, is distant from Romford about five, and from London sixteen miles. The manor was purchased from Sir Francis Petre by Nathan, son of John Wright, Esq., of Kelvedon Hatch, who died in 1657, and the family retained possession of it until Mrs. Oglethorpe on her marriage conveyed it to the General.† The old mansion, which no longer exists, was erected towards the end of James I.'s reign, close by the ancient parish church dedicated to All Saints, and situated on a pleasant rising ground commanding an expansive prospect bounded on the east by the Laindon hills. The only visible structures of Oglethorpe's days that still remain are the walls of the extensive gardens. These walls, beyond which was a fosse, being about twelve feet high and two feet thick, are strongly built of red brick, and loopholed; whilst the gates, likewise unimpaired except by time, are fine specimens of workmanship in wrought-iron. Here, for more than forty years, the General sought occasional retirement, and, together with domestic happiness, enjoyed those rural occupations in which he took delight. But, as the next chapter will show, all his troubles were not yet over.

* 'European Magazine,' July, 1785, p. 13 n. Doctor Lort, writing to Horace Walpole, on the 17th of September, 1781, says:—"Near Godalming I went to see a house of General Oglethorpe's, built soon after the Restoration, which has all the furniture remaining *statu quo*, as when put into it."—Nichols, 'Literary Illustrations,' vol. vii. 548.

† 'The History of Essex,' by Thomas Wright, vol. ii. p. 526.

CHAPTER XIX.

1745—1753.

Oglethorpe was promoted to the rank of Major-General in March, 1745; and, owing to the precarious situation of public affairs, he was detained in England by the Government. Meanwhile he received frequent communications from America. Major Horton, his military deputy in Georgia, writing on the 13th of March, complains of the increased expense of entertaining the friendly Indians, who, on the first news of a war with France, had come in great numbers to Frederica. "When I have attempted," adds the Major, "to lessen the usual presents, or refused giving them horses, they tell me they can have them from the French and Spaniards; but they always go away pleased with the hopes of seeing your Excellency soon." In April Horton acquaints the General that the Choctaws had been attacked by the French and would be forced to submit if not supplied with more ammunition; powder was 4*s.* 8*d.* a pound in Charlestown; and the trade

between South Carolina and Florida was quite public, five vessels from Port Royal being then at St. Augustine. A correspondent at Charlestown likewise writes, that some Cherokees, whom the French had endeavoured to allure, went to the Creeks to seduce them from the English interest, but the Creeks said they would continue faithful to the Squire and the English, and would join them against the French. The answer re-established the fidelity of the Cherokees; and, upon their return, having put one of the French emissaries to death, they sent the rest back to tell of their treatment. Major Horton kept the Creeks very staunch, by giving them constant employment in Florida, and gratifying them with presents; he had heard nothing material from St. Augustine, but that the Spaniards were abundantly supplied with provisions from South Carolina and New York.

In the course of the year Oglethorpe raised in England several recruits for the Georgia Rangers as well as for his own regiment; but when the 'Success,' having these men and a supply of stores for the colony on board, was ready for sea, instead of sailing for America, she, by order of the Secretary of State, went to Hull. There the troops landed; and while the ship with her cannon remained as a defence to that port,* the General with his little party proceeded to Newcastle, where Marshal Wade lay with an army of 10,000 men. The Georgia Rangers were attired in a uniform of blue faced with red, and wore green cockades in their hats. They did not encamp with the infantry; but, like the rest of

* Memorandum, Georgia MSS.; Record Office.

the cavalry, were quartered in the towns, and during the campaign they did very signal service.

As soon as Wade learned the route which the rebels had taken in their descent upon England, he resolved to march to the relief of Carlisle; and accordingly, on the 16th of November, he began to move in that direction. He purposed to have started at daybreak, but a Swiss corps that, moving from the left, had the van, delayed the advance for several hours, to the great prejudice of the expedition. On the march the troops suffered much, the weather being extremely cold, attended by deep snow and a hard frost. In order to encourage the soldiers, who bore their trials with cheerfulness, Major-Generals Howard and Oglethorpe, with Brigadiers Cholmondeley and Mordaunt, walked at the head of the infantry. It was eight o'clock in the evening, and very dark, when the front line got into the camp at Ovington,—about ten miles from Newcastle; and the way was so difficult that Major-Generals Huske and Oglethorpe, fearing lest many of the last column might drop through excessive fatigue, sent out countrymen with lights and carts to assist the rear-guard, in which service they were employed until morning. Next day the Marshal continued his march as far as Hexham, where his first line arrived about four in the afternoon, but the rear did not come up until midnight. Here learning that Carlisle had surrendered to the rebels, he determined to return to Newcastle; but the weather continued so bad that the roads were rendered almost impassable, and he did not re-enter the town until the 22nd, when his men were in such a wretched condition,

that but for the great kindness shown them by the inhabitants, many of them must have died from the effects of their fatiguing march.*

Meanwhile the rebels, having left a garrison at Carlisle, advanced to Penrith, and, continuing their route through Lancaster and Preston, took possession of Manchester, where Prince Charles established his headquarters. Disappointed of his expectations there, he held a council of war, in which it was resolved to proceed by way of Liverpool and Chester into Wales; but learning that the towns were secured and the bridges over the Mersey broken down, the Young Pretender and his followers entered Derby, where his father was proclaimed on the 5th of December. A second Royal army in the meantime assembled in Staffordshire, and the Duke of Cumberland, who had assumed the command, arrived at Lichfield on the last day of November. About the same time Marshal Wade began to march southwards. Having certain intelligence of the proceedings of the rebels and the situation of the forces under his Royal Highness, on the 8th of December he summoned a council of war at Ferrybridge to consider the best means of cutting off the retreat of the enemy, who, instead of advancing towards London, had abandoned Derby, and retraced the route by which they had advanced. It being thought the most likely way of intercepting the fugitives, Wade's army proceeded into Lancashire; but, arriving at Wakefield on the 10th, it was found that the main body of the rebels had already

* 'A Compleat History of the Rebellion,' by Mr. James Ray (York, 1749), p. 117.

reached Manchester, and that their vanguard was on the road to Preston. So the Marshal, deeming it impossible for his infantry to come up with them, once more repaired to his old post at Newcastle, and detached Oglethorpe with troops of the Duke of Montagu's, and Wade's regiments of horse, St. George's regiment of dragoons, and the Georgia Rangers, in order to join the cavalry sent off from the Royal Duke's army.

On the 13th Oglethorpe with his squadron reached Preston, having marched upwards of a hundred miles over snow and ice, in three days; "which," as Ray says, "was a noble testimony of zeal and spirit, especially in the new raised forces." The Duke arrived the same afternoon, and gave orders for the immediate pursuit of the rebels. Oglethorpe therefore at once dispatched the Georgia Rangers after the fugitives, and next morning was himself at Garstang with his cavalry, intending to advance that night with his whole force, so as to post his regulars on Elhib Moor, which begins about three miles south of Lancaster and extends beyond that town northward, and to detach his irregulars in small patrols supported by parties of the regulars, with orders to attack any of the enemy they might fall in with.*

On the morning of the 15th the rear-guard of the rebels quitted Lancaster, which place was reached next day by the Duke of Cumberland. Oglethorpe continued his chase, and on the 17th entered Kendal, where he was joined by his Royal Highness, who had

* 'Scots Magazine,' December, 1745, p. 576.

now more hopes of coming up with the enemy than at any time during the march. The Duke remained that night in Kendal to rest his men and horses, but sent Oglethorpe with his detachment to follow up the pursuit. In the meantime the main body of the insurgents had reached Penrith, while their rear-guard halted at a village called Shap, within a few miles of that town. After nightfall, in wretched condition from the severity of the weather and their forced march, the Major-General's party approached Shap, which was soon deserted by the enemy; Oglethorpe held a consultation with his officers, who considered that, from the exhaustion of their men and the darkness of the night, it was inexpedient to risk an immediate attack. He therefore entered the village to refresh his wearied soldiers and horses.

On the morrow, the 18th, he moved so early that his Light Horse came in sight of the rebels as they were toiling across Clifton Moor. But the loyal Cumberland squires and farmers who accompanied him wheeled about when the clan of Glengarry set up a shout and threatened to fall upon them; Oglethorpe was therefore obliged to fall back and await the arrival of the main body. The rebels having met with the Duke's running footman, took him prisoner; and learned from him that his Royal Highness with his cavalry was coming up at a little distance. Thereupon they threw themselves into the village of Clifton, from whence Lord George Murray dispatched his aide-de-camp to Penrith to acquaint the Chevalier, who immediately sent back a reinforcement. Lord George then formed

a design to surprise the King's Light Horse; with which object he sent a party through Lord Lonsdale's park to get behind them, and line the hedges and walls, from the south end of Clifton to the house of one Savage, a Quaker, at the edge of the moor.

The Duke, having by this time come up with his dragoons, was informed by Savage of the ambuscade. He therefore sent a party towards Lowther Hall, and detaching another party under Oglethorpe, which moved to the right, drew up the rest of his troops on Clifton Moor, and advanced; but finding it impracticable to come at the enemy on horseback, he ordered detachments from Bland's, Kerr's, and Cobham's dragoons to dismount and attack their posts. The action which followed was sharp, but indecisive. The insurgents from their situation had greatly the advantage, the Royalists being obliged to scramble through hedges and ditches. "Not only so," says the 'Whitehaven Volunteer,' "but it being late in the evening, they could see our buff belts and laced hats, when we could not so well discern their blue bonnets and dark-coloured plaids, so that we could only fire at their fire, which was very hot on both sides."* However, after about an hour's fight, the enemy quitted the field and the neighbouring village, and fled to Penrith.

It was so late when the affair was over, and the road was so impeded by the forsaken baggage of the fugitives, that it was considered impossible to follow them

* Ray, pp. 212–215. Although I have chosen the 'Whitehaven Volunteer' as my principal authority for the above details, I have thought it advisable to make some allowance for his partisanship.

with any chance of success. The Duke, therefore, took up his quarters at the house of the loyal Quaker, "who rejoiced much in spirit that such a guest was come under his roof." The Royal troops continued under arms all the night, which was very rainy; and next morning Cumberland with his cavalry entered Penrith, where he continued two days, until his infantry had come up. The Young Pretender, with his deluded followers, re-entered Carlisle on the 19th, and, having changed the garrison, next day departed thence for Scotland.

On the 22nd the Royal army invested the city, which surrendered on the 30th; and, a few days afterwards, the Duke of Cumberland, leaving General Hawley in command, returned to London, where he was received with as much applause as if he had achieved a decisive victory; for every one fondly imagined that the rebellion had been completely quelled. The Duke, not satisfied with his fictitious laurels, or, perhaps, hoping to render his merit more conspicuous by contrast, caused Oglethorpe to be arraigned before a military tribunal, for having "lingered on the road,"—a charge to which, every impartial judge will admit, his Royal Highness's own conduct was, at least, equally open. On the 29th of September, 1746, the trial commenced at the Horse Guards; and on the 7th of October Oglethorpe was honourably acquitted by the court-martial, which consisted of eight generals and brigadiers, and seven colonels; the Gazette of the 21st further announcing that his Majesty was graciously pleased to confirm the verdict.*

* See Appendix VI.

It appears from Oglethorpe's 'Memorandum,' already cited, which would seem to have been drawn up by Mr. Stone's direction, that the 'Success' remained for a considerable time at Hull, where she produced a good effect, as was testified by the Mayor; while the Georgia recruits guarded the rebels in York Castle. And the drift of the paper is:—"Desire to know what should be done on this head." There is also a short letter to the Under Secretary, dated 11th March, 1747, wherein Oglethorpe writes:—"Having had a return of my fever has prevented my waiting upon you. I send you enclosed a copy of a paper which I drew up for his Grace of Newcastle's orders, and left with him, and which you desired. The man-of-war who was ordered for Port Royal, near Georgia, three months ago, is not yet sailed from Spithead; so the orders to Major Horton will still be time enough to send by her." *

Oglethorpe attained the rank of Lieutenant-General on the 13th of September in the same year; and during the next and the following sessions he constantly attended and occasionally spoke in the House of Commons, his speeches being upon some measure for the alleviation of distress or the correction of abuses. Thus we find him strenuously advocating the cause of the United Brethren, or Moravians. A petition was drawn up in 1746, for the purpose of extending the benefit of an "Act for naturalizing foreigners in our Plantations"

* Georgia MS.; Record Office. It may here be observed that in 1747, the Right Hon. Henry Fox, then Secretary at War, presented a Memorial to the Lords of the Treasury, on behalf of Oglethorpe; but it does not appear that the General was ever refunded the vast outlay he had incurred for the public service.

to the Moravian Brethren and other Protestant settlers who made a scruple of taking an oath. In the spring of 1747 Oglethorpe presented the petition to the House of Commons, "with an ample speech;" and a Bill being framed it passed into a law. In 1749, another petition in their behalf was presented to the House by the General, who supported it in a long and impressive speech, wherein he traced the origin, history, and constitution of their Church, and bore testimony, from his own experience, to their pious and useful labours in our colonies. A Bill to the desired effect having passed the Commons was carried by sixteen members to the House of Lords, and Oglethorpe, as their spokesman, delivered it with a short address to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. This Bill also was approved of by their Lordships, and, on the 6th of June, received the Royal Assent.*

In 1750 he spoke at considerable length upon topics relating to the army. In a debate upon the Mutiny Bill, on the 23rd of January, Mr. Secretary at War having proposed that no sentence given by any Court Martial shall be liable to be revised more than once, the Earl of Egmont moved as an amendment, to leave out the words, "more than once." Oglethorpe expressed his surprise at so great an opposition to the amendment. There might, he observed, be treason against the constitution as well as against the Crown; adding, "if an officer should, by the sentence of a court-martial, be condemned to be shot for refusing to obey orders not only unlawful, but such as evidently tended

* Cranz's 'History of the United Brethren, translated by B. La Trobe,' (London, 1780), pp. 331, 349, and 351.

to the overthrow of our constitution, I should, as a member of this House, make no scruple to vote every officer who had concurred in that sentence guilty of high treason; and, as the existence of such a case is far from impossible, I shall never give my consent to a law that would render it impossible for this House to discover who had, or had not, concurred in such a sentence."

If the oath of secrecy was to remain, he hoped the amendment would be agreed to; but he was averse to the oath itself; for he considered that the proceedings of all courts of justice ought to be open and public, so that the judges should meet with that applause or censure they might deserve, which the public, when fully informed, will always justly bestow. "A good and upright judge," he continues, "will never desire to make a secret of any part of his proceedings; but a wicked one certainly will; for, from the highest authority, we know who they are that love darkness rather than light; and no man, I think, who has a due regard for that authority can ever be for indulging them in their choice. . . . If the members of those courts should once come to be more afraid of their General or Admiral than of the resentment of this House, they may manage it so as in a few years to set that General or Admiral above the resentment of either or both Houses of Parliament. But how shall we make our resentment terrible, if we part with that power which alone makes it terrible? What is it that makes the resentment of this House terrible to evil-doers? It is our being the grand inquest of the nation. Can we perform that

function if men are tied up by oath from making any discovery?

"I shall grant, Sir, that notwithstanding this oath, we may have proof of the sentence and of some part of the proceedings, because we may order them to be laid before us, and from these we may be convinced that every interlocutory resolution, as well as the final sentence, were most unjust and oppressive, or of the most dangerous consequence to our liberties. We may even vote them so, with a *nemine contradicente* prefixed to our resolution; but this would only bring us into contempt with the people as well as the army, for we could proceed no further. We could neither impeach nor order bills of pains and penalties without some proof as to the particular men who concurred in that sentence and in those resolutions, and this we shall effectually debar ourselves of if we reject the amendment proposed; for by their sentence and resolution all would appear to have concurred, and consequently to be equally guilty; and such a court-martial would certainly take care that, when they came to vote, there should be no bystanders nor listeners." *

On the 7th of February, Oglethorpe took part in a debate upon a clause in the Mutiny Bill relating to the methods of punishing non-commissioned officers. In the course of his speech, having protested against the principle that the House was never to take notice of complaints made by any description of men either in or out of the army, he says:—"I hope that both the officers and

* Parliamentary History, vol. xiv. 638–641. The proposed amendment being dropped, there was no division.

soldiers of the army are all subjects of Great Britain; and it is our duty to take notice of every complaint made to us by every British subject, unless it appears to be frivolous or unjust. Nay, farther, as we are the great inquest of the nation, it is our duty to inquire diligently if any subjects of Great Britain be exposed to oppressions, and to take the most effectual method for procuring them relief. This, I say, is our duty, and I wish we would attend to this part of our duty more frequently than we do, especially with regard to those who serve in our armies either by sea or land; for they are by the nature of the service more exposed to oppression than any others of his Majesty's subjects, and it is likewise more dangerous for them to complain. . . . Suppose we should now and then reject a frivolous, or punish an unjust complaint, can we imagine that this would bring upon Parliament the detestation of the soldiers? No, Sir; a common soldier has common understanding as well as other men, and every one of them not concerned in the complaint would judge impartially, and approve what the Parliament had done. Nothing can bring us into contempt but our refusing to hear a just complaint, or neglecting to give redress, when the facts have been fully proved.

"Let us consider that a board of general officers, or a general court-martial must be appointed by an order from the Crown, or the Commander-in-chief. When a commissioned officer has been injured by his colonel, he may have interest enough to obtain such an order; but how shall a poor soldier obtain it, when he has been injured by his colonel? A regimental court-

martial he cannot trust to for relief, even supposing that the colonel should order one at his request; and a general court-martial he cannot obtain, because it is so difficult for him to get access either to the Crown or the Commander-in-chief, but to a member of this House he may get access. By means of that member he may get justice done him by Parliament; and now and then an instance of this kind would attach all the soldiers to the Parliament, and would be a continual check upon those officers that are apt to oppress and tyrannize over the soldiers that have the misfortune to be under their command. . . . That this would be any prejudice to the discipline of our army, there is not the least ground to apprehend. Can oppression and tyranny be necessary for preserving discipline and subordination? Shall such a doctrine ever be adopted by a British House of Commons? On the contrary, do we not know that discipline, subordination, and, what is of still more consequence, the courage of the soldiers are preserved by just and gentle usage? And this I take to be the chief reason why the common soldiers of the British army face danger with more intrepidity than the common soldiers of any nation under the sun. Do not therefore let us encourage brutal officers, if any such there are or ever should be, to use the soldiers ill, by laying it down as a maxim that Parliament must not intermeddle in any disputes or differences that happen in the army. To refute this doctrine was the only end of my standing up. I shall always be jealous of a power the exercise whereof is trusted to the absolute and arbitrary will of a single man; nor do I think

that any such power can ever be necessary in time of peace; for though in time of war such a power must often be granted, yet even then it ought to be as little made use of as possible." *

Oglethorpe again spoke on the 16th, when it was moved that a Bill for limiting the term of soldiers' service be read a third time. Though far from approving of the Bill as it stood, he had no objection to its passing into a law, if only to oblige the framers to bring in a better one; "for," he said, "I think it is hard to tie a poor man down for life to serve as a common soldier, and very few who enlist as such can ever expect to be higher; nor do I think that our giving them a right to demand their discharge would ever be the cause of any mutinous behaviour, or much increase the expense of recruiting; and if it should add a little to that expense, the public ought not to grudge it. Nay, I think the public ought to be at the whole expense, and that a fund should be established for that service. . . .

"There is another defect in the Bill, which has not been noticed,—its making the condition of a soldier better in time of peace than in time of war, which is directly contrary to what we ought to aim at; for we should endeavour to make our soldiers wish for war, and to wish for going abroad rather than staying at home. The French do so; and for this reason their regulation with respect to the time of a soldier's serving in the army is the same in time of war as it is in time of peace, and the same in their plantations as at home. . . . We should make the term of enlistment

* Parliamentary Debates, vol. xiv. 666–9.

shorter in our colonies; for great numbers of our soldiers sent thither would demand their discharge as soon as their time expired, and settle as tradesmen and servants; by which means we might rapidly increase the white population, so as in time to create a militia capable of self-defence. This I know not to be done by the Bill now before us, but the passing of it will, I think, be a step towards it; and for this reason the question shall have my concurrence." *

Oglethorpe's opinions were too far in advance of his time to be appreciated by the majority of his contemporaries; consequently he was amongst the minorities upon the foregoing measures. Not so, however, upon one of more popular interest. During the same session an Act was passed for the encouragement of the British Herring Fishery, in consequence of which a society was formed and incorporated by royal charter, Frederic, Prince of Wales, being the first Governor. On the 25th of October his Royal Highness went with great pomp to Fishmongers' Hall, where he was received by the President and Council of the Society, and by the Master and Court of Assistants of the Fishmongers' Company, who waited on him in their parlour. The Prince having taken his seat, was presented by General Oglethorpe, as one of the Council, with the charter, accompanied by an appropriate address. The table-cloth being then spread, a plentiful supply of Shetland pickled herrings was served up on china; and his Royal Highness having eaten heartily, graciously drank

* *Ibid.* 758–60. The House then Divided: ayes, 92; noes, 145. So the Bill was lost.

to the success of the Herring Fishery.* In May, 1751, Oglethorpe spoke on the Regency Bill, and, in December, took part in a debate on the Land Tax.†

From the first settlement of Georgia the Province had been under a military government, administered by the General and such officers as he chose to nominate. But, after his return to England, in 1743, the Trustees thought fit to establish a kind of civil government, and committed the charge to a President and four Councillors or assistants, who were to be guided by the instructions they should receive from the corporation. Mr. William Stephens was appointed President of the Council, who were instructed to hold four general courts at Savannah every year, for the regulation of local affairs, and to determine all differences respecting private property, etc. The militia-service was maintained for the purpose of keeping the freeholders in military discipline; and Oglethorpe's regiment, under the command of Major Horton, remained for the defence of the colony. The Major seldom interfered in civil matters, except whenever his assistance was required to enforce the measures of the President and Council; and on such occasions he acted with prudence and humanity, by which means he ac-

* The 'Scots Magazine,' vol. xii. pp. 498 and 543.

† Walpole's 'Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second,' vol. i. pp. 106, 190. Walpole, speaking of Oglethorpe, says, with his habitual sneer,—"It was uncertain whether he was a Whig or a Jacobite, whether very brave or a coward, for he had fought several duels, and ran away in the Rebellion; very certain that he was a troublesome and tiresome speaker, though even that was now and then tempered with sense."—*Ibid.*, p. 98.

quired the esteem of his fellow-colonists. By following the General's instructions regarding the Indians and Rangers, he also kept the Spaniards at bay, insomuch that they never ventured to attempt a second invasion of Georgia. After the peace with Spain, the greater part of the regiment being disbanded, many of the soldiers accepted the encouragement offered them by Government to remain in the Province, and not a few of the officers likewise settled there.

Slavery had not yet been formally introduced, and may be said to have been permitted rather than authorized. The term for which European servants were engaged had generally expired; and the difficulty was surmounted by hiring negroes from their owners in South Carolina. If any endeavours were made to enforce the regulation of the Trustees, the owners appeared and demanded their property. The colonists, finding that this plan of evading the law was successful, procured negroes for a hundred years or for life, and paid down a sum equal to their marketable value. Eventually purchases were openly made in Savannah from African traders.*

Mr. Stephens resigned his appointment as President in April, 1751, and retired to his plantation. He was succeeded by Henry Parker, Vice-President; and James Habersham was made Provincial Secretary. In the same year the Province was divided into eleven districts; and a Colonial Assembly, consisting of sixteen members, was inaugurated at Savannah. At length the General, having held the office of Governor of

* M'Call, 'History of Georgia,' vol. i. pp. 206–7.

Georgia for twenty years, resigned it on the 20th of June, 1752, when the Trustees gave up their charter; and the Province which Oglethorpe had created and fostered obtained a Constitutional Government, with the same privileges as our earlier Plantations. The colonization of the Thirteen Provinces which formed the nucleus of the United States, having been commenced by Raleigh, may be said, so far as England is concerned, to have been completed by Oglethorpe. He lived to see Georgia not only revolt against, and have her independence acknowledged, by the mother country, but also to see her acquire political influence in America as well as commercial importance in Europe.

CHAPTER XX.

1754—1785.

Ogletorpe's career as a public character came to a close in 1754, when he and his old coadjutor, Mr. Peter Burrel, were unsuccessful candidates for Haslemere, the borough they had long represented in Parliament. So retired henceforth was his life that no record concerning him can be traced until 1765, on the 22nd of February, in which year he attained the rank of General. Nor is it till some years later that his name again turns up, and then not as philanthropist, soldier, nor politician, but as witness of a ludicrous scene in the chambers of Oliver Goldsmith. Mr. Forster relates the story as an amusing illustration of the inconvenience sometimes incurred by the poet from his Grub Street *protégés* :—

"The hero of the anecdote had all the worst qualities of the tribe; and, 'How do you think he served me?' said Goldsmith, relating the incident to a friend. 'Why, Sir, after staying away two years, he came one evening into my chambers, half drunk, as I was taking a glass of wine with Topham Beauclerc and General Oglethorpe; and sitting himself down, with most intolerable

assurance inquired after my health and literary pursuits, as if we were upon the most friendly footing. I was at first so much ashamed of ever having known such a fellow, that I stifled my resentment, and drew him into a conversation on such topics as I knew he could talk upon; in which, to do him justice, he acquitted himself very reputably; when all of a sudden, as if recollecting something, he pulled two papers out of his pocket, which he presented to me with great ceremony, saying, 'Here, my dear friend, is a quarter of a pound of tea and a half pound of sugar I have brought you; for though it is not in my power at present to pay you the two guineas you so generously lent me, you, nor any man else, shall ever have it to say that I want gratitude.' 'This,' added Goldsmith, 'was too much. I could no longer keep in my feelings, but desired him to turn out of my chambers directly, which he very coolly did, taking up his tea and sugar; and I never saw him afterwards.'"

Mr. Forster observes that no less a pencil than Hogarth's could have given us the fastidious face of Beauclerc when the tea and sugar were produced.* The humour of the incident, however, was not thrown away upon Oglethorpe, who had sufficient sense of the ludicrous to enjoy it thoroughly. As Mr. Forster, also, truly remarks, the sympathies which attracted Oglethorpe to Goldsmith, and continued their intimacy, appear in the commencement of the following letter of the General's—the only specimen that remains of their correspondence:—

* 'The Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith,' (2nd ed.) vol. ii. pp. 163–4.

"How just, Sir, were your observations, that the poorest objects were by extreme poverty deprived of the benefit of hospitals erected for the relief of the poorest! Extreme poverty, which should be the strongest recommendation to charity, is here the insurmountable objection, which leaves the distressed to perish. The qualifying such objects to receive the benefit of hospitals answers the intentions of the intended society. The design is the immediate relief from perishing; thereby giving time and protection to get proper destinations. And this being admitted into an hospital is a proper destination. You were so good as to offer to distribute such sums as should be sent to you. At the same time that I am to return you thanks for your charitable offer, I am to send you five pounds to distribute for that purpose in the time and manner you think proper. Which I accordingly herewith send.

"You have seen, I suppose, in the 'St. James's Evening Post,' from September 22nd to 25th, the Zoilus that attacked you treated with proper contempt. If a farm and a mere country scene will be a little refreshment from the smoke of London, we shall be glad of the happiness of seeing you at Cranham Hall. It is sixteen miles from the Three Nuns at Whitechapel, where Prior our stage coach inns. He sets out at two in the afternoon.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient humble servant,

"J. Oglethorpe.

"Cranham Hall.

"(By Gray's Bag) Essex."*

* Prior's 'Life of Goldsmith,' vol. ii. p. 422 (from 'Percy Memoir').

On Tuesday, the 13th of April, 1773, Johnson, Goldsmith, and Boswell dined with Oglethorpe at his town house, when there was a discussion betwixt the two Doctors upon the degeneracy of mankind as arising from luxury. The General, who is not reported to have taken any part in the argument, was doubtless better pleased with the sequel; for after joining the ladies at tea, Goldsmith sang Tony Lumpkin's song in his comedy 'She Stoops to Conquer,' and a very pretty one to an Irish tune, 'The Humours of Ballamagairy.'*

Johnson and Boswell again dined at Oglethorpe's, on the 10th of April, 1775;—poor Goldsmith died in the preceding year. Mr. Langton was there also; and the General had given Boswell leave to bring with him the Irish Doctor Campbell, who was thus gratified with a high intellectual feast, in the society of both Johnson and Oglethorpe, whose names had been long celebrated at home and abroad. It was upon this occasion that Doctor Johnson urged the General to give the world his 'Life,' as appears in the preface of the present Memoir. Boswell concludes his report of the conversation with the remark that Doctor Johnson was not much in the humour of talking: but it is evident that the biographer had been previously snubbed for his curiosity. Dr. Campbell's notes, however, are more explicit and amusing. He states that when Johnson pressed Oglethorpe to write his Life, the old General excused himself by saying that the life of a private man was not worthy of public notice, and seemed also to excuse himself on the score of incapacity. Yet he

* Boswell's 'Life of Johnson,' chapter xxviii.

asked Boswell to bring him some good almanac that he might recollect dates; whereupon Boswell said he need only furnish the skeleton, and that Dr. Johnson would supply bones and sinews. "He would be a good doctor," retorted Oglethorpe, "who could do that." "Well," said Campbell, "he is a good Doctor," at which Johnson laughed very heartily.*

In the autumn of the same year we find the General at Cranham Hall, where, on the 12th of September, he addressed the following short but characteristic letter to his neighbour, Dr. George Scott, F.R.S., etc., a famous antiquary, who, having resided for many years in Crown Court, Westminster, retired in 1768 to his country seat, Woolston Hall, Chigwell:—

"Dear Sir,—This attends you with your curious book (thanks for all favours), and some of the Reports of the Committee, with the designed horrible job for plundering the rich, imprisoning and starving the poor, and putting twenty millions to be told over a gridiron into their own pockets. The Landed and Church interest throughout the kingdom have discovered the design, and have formed a well-concerted correspondence for that purpose. We are to dine by invitation at Mr. Mildmay's on Thursday, and see Old England; for Marks is what England was three hundred years ago, and most worthy the contemplation of an antiquary.† I hope you will make my service acceptable

* 'Diary of a Visit to England in 1775,' by an Irishman (the Rev. Doctor Thomas Campbell), etc. Sydney, 1854.

† Marks Hall, about two miles from Romford, was the property of Thomas Urswyck, Recorder of London, who died in 1479. It afterwards came into the possession of Sir George Hervey, Lieutenant of the

to Mr. Jones, and believe me to be, dear Sir, yours, etc., J. Oglethorpe." *

The historian of Georgia states that at the commencement of the American Revolution, General Oglethorpe, being the senior officer to Sir William Howe, had the prior offer of the command of the forces appointed to subdue the insurgents. He agreed, it is said, to accept the appointment, provided the Ministry would authorize him to assure the colonies that justice should be done them. He declared that he knew the people of America well; they could never be subdued by arms, but their obedience would ever be secured by treating them justly. "A man with these views," adds our author, "was not a fit instrument for the designs of the British Government, and therefore, agreeably to his own request, he was permitted to remain at home." † It is scarcely probable, however, that the administration would have offered the conduct of so vast an undertaking to a veteran in his eighty-eighth year, unless it were merely a matter of etiquette. Yet the sentiments expressed are by no means unlike what might have

Tower, whose son, Sir Gawen, bequeathed the manor to the Mildmays. "The hall, now (1803) falling to decay, is a very ancient fabric, forming a quadrangle. The foundations are of brick, but the superstructure is of timber and plaster. At two opposite angles is a square brick tower, embattled. The whole building is surrounded by a moat, the water standing close to the walls. This mansion has been uninhabited many years."—Beauties of England and Wales, Essex, p. 480.

* Nichols' 'Literary Illustrations,' vol. iv. p. 522.

† 'The History of Georgia,' by Hugh M'Call (Savannah, 1811), vol. i. p. 326. M'Call refers to the 'British Annual Register' as the authority for his assertion. I know of but one 'Annual Register,' and have not been able to find any trace of the story therein.

been expected from Oglethorpe; nor, humanly speaking—notwithstanding his great age—is it improbable that, had he been entrusted with discretionary powers, the issue would have been different, and much blood and treasure saved.

But, whatever may be the worth of the foregoing anecdote, we have another upon a kindred subject, which rests on indisputable authority:—A day or two after John Adams arrived in London as ambassador from the United States, he was waited upon by Oglethorpe, who politely introduced himself, and said, "I am come to pay my respects to the first American Ambassador and his family, whom I am very glad to see in England." He then expressed his great regard for America, much regret at the misunderstanding between the two countries, and added that he was very happy to have lived to see the termination of it. Mr. Adams returned the visit, and had another interview of an hour or two with the General, but, unfortunately, carried away no reminiscence of any importance; for they never met again.*

Horace Walpole, writing on the 18th of February, 1783, to the Countess of Ossory, says that, though he was a Mathusalem from the scenes he had witnessed, he had just made an acquaintanceship with one a little his senior; they were to be very intimate for a long time, for his new friend was but ninety-four. It was Oglethorpe, whom he had not seen for twenty years,

* 'Annals of America' (Cambridge, Mass. 1829), by Abiel Holmes, D.D., who cites "letter of the late President Adams, in answer to my inquiries respecting General Oglethorpe, dated 'Quincy, November 14, 1807,'" vol. ii. p. 530.

yet knew him instantly. "As he did not recollect me," adds the letter-writer, "I told him it was a proof how little he was altered, and I how much. I said I would visit him; he replied, 'No, no; I can walk better than you. I will come to you.'"*

One Saturday morning in the spring of same year, Boswell paid a visit to the active old General, who reminded him that Doctor Johnson saw company on Saturday evenings, and said he would meet him at the Doctor's house that night. When Boswell mentioned this to Johnson, not doubting that it would please him, the fretfulness of his disease unexpectedly showing itself, he exclaimed, "Did not you tell him not to come? Am I to be hunted in this manner?" But when Oglethorpe's arrival was announced, the Doctor attended him to the parlour, and was as courteous as ever. In the course of their conversation the General said he was busy reading the writers of the Middle Ages. Johnson remarked that they were very curious. "The House of Commons," said Oglethorpe, "has usurped the power of the nation's money and used it tyrannically. Government is now carried on by corrupt influences, instead of the inherent right of the king." "Sir," added the Doctor, "the want of inherent right of the king occasions all this disturbance. What we did at the Revolution was necessary; but it broke our constitution." Whereupon Oglethorpe observed, "My father did not think it necessary."*

It appears not to have been until 1784 that Hannah

* Walpole's 'Letters' (Cunningham), vol. viii. p. 337.

† 'Life of Johnson,' chapter lxxv.

More, notwithstanding her annual visits to London, became acquainted with Oglethorpe; for in that year she writes to her sister from Mrs. Garrick's house in the Adelphi:—"I have got a new admirer, and we flirt together prodigiously; it is the famous General Oglethorpe, perhaps the most remarkable man of his time. He was foster-brother to the Pretender, and is much above ninety years old; the finest figure of a man you ever saw. He perfectly realizes all my ideas of Nestor. His literature is great, his knowledge of the world extensive, and his faculties as bright as ever. He is one of the three persons still living who were mentioned by Pope; Lord Mansfield and Lord Marchmont are the other two. He was the intimate friend of Southern, the tragic poet, and all the wits of his time. He is perhaps the oldest man of a gentleman living. I went to see him the other day, and he would have entertained me by repeating passages from Sir Eldred.* He is quite a *preux chevalier*, heroic, romantic, and full of the old gallantry."

Not long afterwards the same gifted lady was invited by Mrs. Vesey to meet a very small and choice party made for Mrs. Delaney and the Duchess of Portland. She had much chat with Burke, who also talked a great deal of politics with Oglethorpe; and told him that he looked upon him as a more extraordinary person than any he had ever read of, for he had founded a Province and lived to see it severed from the empire which created it, and become an independent State.

* 'Sir Eldred of the Bower,' a legendary poem, Hannah More's first original work, published in 1775.

"I could have added," writes Miss More, 'Whose wicked eloquence was it that helped to bring about this mighty revolution?' And, by his looks, I believe Venerable Nestor had the same thought."*

It is a curious circumstance that a contemporary of Oglethorpe's should have formed a link, as it were, between his times and a period so recent that it may almost be considered the present, and it is no less remarkable that two human beings should have connected the latter part of the seventeenth with the middle of the nineteenth century. Yet such are the facts. Early in 1785, Samuel Rogers, then in his twenty-second year, met Oglethorpe at the sale of Doctor Johnson's books. He describes the General as being "then very, very old, the flesh of his face like parchment. He amused us youngsters," adds the poet, "by talking of the alterations that had been made in London, and of the great additions it had received within his recollection. He said that he had shot snipes in Conduit Street."†

Walpole, so late as the 8th of April, 1785, informs Sir Horace Mann, that General Oglethorpe, who sometimes visited him at Berkeley Square, and who was then ninety-five, had the activity of youth when compared with himself,—about twenty years younger,—and adds:—"His eyes, ears, articulation, limbs, and memory would suit a boy, if a boy could recollect a century backwards. His teeth are gone; he is a shadow,

* 'Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More' (1834), vol. i. pp. 316 and 359.

† 'Table-Talk of Samuel Rogers,' p. 10 (3rd. ed. 1856).

and a wrinkled one; but his spirits and his spirit are in full bloom. Two years and a half ago he challenged a neighbouring gentleman for trespassing on his manor."

Thus we see that, though Oglethorpe had far outnumbered those days of our age after which the weight of years commonly bears down the elasticity of mind as well as body, he retained that spring of intellect which in his earlier life was manifested by the promptitude and perseverance with which, despite every obstacle, he carried out his benevolent designs. With ample means to enjoy every luxury that wealth could command, he was remarkably abstemious, and his health, therefore, was generally good. Until his fatal illness he could outwalk men of not half his years; and to the end his hearing was acute and his eyes were undimmed. His friends, we are told, did not apprehend that they were so soon to lose him; for, notwithstanding his great age, he was healthy and vigorous, and was at last carried off by a violent fever. General James Oglethorpe died at Cranham Hall, on the morning of July the 1st, 1785.

Boswell pays a "tribute of most sincere gratitude" to the memory of "that excellent person," his intimacy with whom was the more valuable to him from the manner in which it originated. Soon after the publication of his 'Account of Corsica,' the General called upon him, and approaching him with a frank, courteous air, said, "My name, Sir, is Oglethorpe, and I wish to

be acquainted with you." Boswell acknowledges that he was not a little flattered to be thus addressed by so eminent a man. He adds that he was afterwards frequently invited to make one in the many respectable companies the General entertained at his table; and in Oglethorpe's society he never failed to enjoy learned and animated conversation, seasoned with genuine sentiments of virtue and religion.*

How different, as should, indeed, be expected, are the remarks of one who—as Lord Macaulay has observed—seems never to have formed more than a single friendship! "I make no commentary on General Oglethorpe's death, Madam," writes Horace Walpole to the Countess of Ossory, "because his very long life was the great curiosity, and the moment he is dead the rarity is over; and, as he was but ninety-seven,† he will not be a prodigy compared with those who reached to a century and a half. He is like many who make a noise in their own time from some singularity, which is forgotten when it comes to be registered with others of the same genius, but more extraordinary of their kind. How little will Dr. Johnson be remembered when confounded with the mass of authors of his own calibre!"‡

With respect to Johnson, the cold-hearted letter-writer was a very false prophet; and, as regards Ogle-

* 'Life of Johnson,' chapter xlix., n.

† 'The London Gazette,' first announcing General Oglethorpe's death, stated his age to be 104 years; and the 'Westminster Magazine' for July, 1785, says 102 years. Strange to say, the inscription on his monument mentions neither the date of his birth, nor his age.

‡ 'Walpole's Letters' (Cunningham), vol. viii. p. 570.

thorpe, it may be asked, Who were the men of his time, of the same genius, but more extraordinary of their kind? On the other hand, Dr. Warton, who says he had the pleasure of knowing him well, in a note on Pope's famous couplet, remarks:—"Here are lines that will justly confer immortality on a man who well deserved so magnificent an eulogium. He was at once a great hero and a great legislator. . . . The variety of his advantages and the different scenes in which he had been engaged, make me regret that his Life has never been written. . . . His settlement of Georgia gave a greater lustre to his character than even his military exploits."

The General's body was deposited in the family vault of the Wrights, within Cranham Church, and on the north wall of the chancel his widow erected a monumental tablet with a lengthy inscription, designed to convey "faint traces of his excellent character."* Mrs. Oglethorpe died on the 26th of October, 1787, and her remains were placed with those of her late husband. "Very many and continual," says one of her executors, "were her acts of charity and benevolence; but as she would herself have been hurt by any display of them in her lifetime, we shall say no more. Not to have mentioned them at all would have been unjust to her memory, and not less so to the world, in which such an example may operate as an incitement to others to go and do likewise."†

* See Appendix, VII.

† Mr. G. Sharpe.—Obituary, 'Gentleman's Magazine,' 1787, p. 1025. See Appendix, VIII.

Oglethorpe, when he entered Parliament, knew that, owing to the Jacobitical principles of his family, the public was prejudiced against him. His mother is said to have been the medium through whom Oxford and Bolingbroke communicated with the Stuarts; one of his sisters resided with them; and his elder brother's voluntary exile was probably attributable to the same cause. Hence there was reason to question his loyalty to the reigning House. His political course must therefore have disappointed all parties; for he never would consent to be the slave of any, but followed the dictates of truth, humanity, and justice. He received no opinions at second-hand. Upon those measures in which he was interested he exercised his own mind; he pursued whatever he thought right, regardless of the displeasure or the gratification of other men; and, without aspiring to eloquence, he delivered his convictions with great force and fluency.*

As a philanthropist, Oglethorpe is distinguished from those who, confining their labours within a limited sphere, cherish some pet project of their own and ignore every other claim; and he also stands apart from those who, from not concentrating their efforts upon any method or principle, scatter their energies and accomplish little good. Although the reform which he effected in prison discipline was not upon so large a scale as Howard's, it was higher in degree. He did not deem it enough to ameliorate the wretched condition of poor

* He is said to have had an exceedingly shrill voice, which could be heard in the lobby when he was speaking in the House.—Nichols' 'Literary Anecdotes,' vol. ii. p. 21, n.

debtors during their imprisonment, but he also found a channel for their industry after their release; and, having opened that channel, he did not commit to others the prosecution of his ultimate design. Oglethorpe, as an American historian observes, without creating a private estate, or seeking any emolument for his labours, made as great efforts and sacrifices for Georgia, as William Penn had done for Pennsylvania. "But he was not, like Penn, the head of a religious society, who, identifying their honour with his, would have magnified and perpetuated the glory of his achievements with all the ardour of sectarian partiality."* Nor did he seek to transmit his name to posterity by attaching it to the Province which he established.

Oglethorpe's was no selfish benevolence; his sympathies were not absorbed by his own schemes; he was ever ready to assist the worthy, in whatever form was best suited to their wants or desires. Few books of merit were published in his time to which he did not subscribe,—in many cases for several copies;† and, while he liberally contributed to public charities, his private benefactions were considerable. The families of his dependants were sure of his assistance so long as they deserved it; and he frequently supported needy tenants, not merely by forbearing to demand rent, but by lending them money to improve their farms.‡

* Grahame, 'History of the United States,' vol. iii. p. 221.

† His library, comprising standard works in Ancient and Modern History, the Drama, Poetry, Polite Literature, etc., was sold by Calderwood, in 1788.—Nichols' 'Literary Anecdotes,' vol. iii. p. 624.

‡ Obituary, 'Gentleman's Magazine,' 1785, part ii. p. 518.

As a General, Oglethorpe's experience was circumscribed. Yet, judging, not only from his masterly defence of Frederica, but from the whole history of the establishment of the Province, it should seem that he must have distinguished himself had he been called upon to command large armies. His ability as a strategist is little less conspicuous than his skill in organization; his persistence, too, in spite of every discouragement, is very remarkable, and in this respect, at least, he acted up to his family motto,—NESCIT CEDERE. Warton tells us that Prince Eugene always spoke of Oglethorpe in the highest terms, and also, by the way, that neither of them loved Marlborough, speaking of whom, the Prince remarked:—"There is a great difference in making war *en maître*, or *en avocat*." The Duke of Argyle, likewise, as we have seen, entertained a high opinion of Oglethorpe's abilities as a soldier. It is stated that Oglethorpe commanded the first regular English force stationed in America; he was also the first Commander-in-Chief of more than one Province, and for many years he was the senior General of the British Army.

Boswell says that the uncommon vivacity of Oglethorpe's mind, and the variety of his knowledge, having sometimes made his conversation seem too desultory, Johnson observed, "Oglethorpe, Sir, never completes what he has to say." But may it not have been through politeness, and not from inability, that the General gave way to the great Cham of Literature? Johnson often dogmatically decided upon questions of which, from lack of practical experience, he was an

incompetent judge; and Oglethorpe, when his own convictions were strongly opposed to the Doctor's views, probably refrained from pursuing his argument rather than contradict his guest. "If he indulged in any sort of garrulity," remarks one of his most familiar friends, "it was that of one who, having read and seen much, with much observation, was willing to communicate his knowledge; and few who attended to him did so without receiving information."*

Oglethorpe had his defects and, like other mortals, committed errors; but his failings leaned to virtue's side. If, in the prime of life, he was passionate, impatient of contradiction, and hasty in his resentment, he was at the same time ingenuous, placable, and gracious. To the humble he was magnanimous, to the guilty merciful, and to the needy bountiful. Sincere and warm in his personal attachments, the disinterestedness and nobleness of his disposition attracted to him numerous friends. But he could not stoop to conciliate those who, envious of his superior abilities, by misrepresentation and falsehood endeavoured to tarnish his reputation; and the vilest of men sometimes have it in their power to cast a stain for a while upon the very purest. Oglethorpe's self-denial and humility, his real regard for merit and generous concern for the welfare of others, his varied knowledge and experience, the simplicity, manliness, and dignity of his conduct, together with his chivalrous spirit and unfeigned piety, have but few parallels in the history of human life. I confess that, with the strongest desire to represent him

* Mr. Granville Sharpe, in 'Gentleman's Magazine,' 1785.

as he was, I may be biased in his favour; perhaps it is scarcely possible for any one who has closely studied his character to be otherwise. Therefore, while briefly expressing my own views, I ask the reader to form his judgment solely upon the facts which have been gleaned from the most authentic sources.

Very few relics of Oglethorpe have been preserved. In 1731 he presented to the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, a manuscript French version of the Bible, in two folio volumes, finely illuminated;* and there is, or before the late strife there was, in Savannah a Bible, his gift to a Masonic lodge. A portrait of the General, and one of Mrs. Oglethorpe, are said to have been in the family of the late Mrs. Dickinson, of Tottenham;† but the only engraved likeness of Oglethorpe is a sketch which was taken within a few months of his death, while he was reading, without spectacles, at the sale of Doctor Johnson's library. In 1780 he sat to Reynolds for his portrait,—a commission from the Duke of Rutland; unfortunately, however, the picture, with many other fine works of Sir Joshua's, was destroyed in a fire at Belvoir.‡ Another portrait of the General, with his Indian pupil standing by his side, reading, which was presented by himself to Mr. Noble Jones, of Georgia, was lost when Savannah was captured by the British forces in 1778.§

* Gutch's Appendix to Wood's 'History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford,' p. 279.

† 'History of Surrey,' by Manning and Bray, vol. i. p. 613.

‡ Leslie's 'Life of Reynolds,' vol. ii. p. 285.

§ M'Call's 'History of Georgia,' vol. i. p. 324.

The memory of Oglethorpe is honoured throughout North America. In Georgia, a city and a county perpetuate his name. Let us hope that the Southern States may soon recover from the effects of the struggle by which they have so bitterly suffered, and that, without the aid of slaves, they may run a prosperous course, in accordance with the benevolent intention of the Founder of Georgia.

APPENDIX.

I.

(Page 5.) It appears from Stephens's Journal that Oglethorpe's birthday was kept in Georgia on the 21st of December, and Harris, therefore,—although he was aware of the entry in the Parish Register of St. James's,—assigns the 21st of December, 1688, as the date of the General's nativity. It would seem from the monumental inscription and from Thoresby's 'History of Leeds,' that Oglethorpe had a second Christian name, but to none of the numerous letters and documents in the Record Office, to which his signature is attached, does he subscribe himself otherwise than "James Oglethorpe." As I considered it possible that the child of Sir Theophilus and Lady Eleanor, baptized on the 2nd of June, 1689, might have died in infancy, and that the General was the second son named James,—not an uncommon occurrence, I have carefully searched the Baptismal Register of Godalming as well as that of St. James's, but found nothing to confirm my temporary suspicion. Consequently, little doubt can remain, that the true date of Oglethorpe's birth is that mentioned in the text.*

* The entry in the Register of St. James's is under the year 1689, month of June, and runs thus :—

Bapt. 2.	"James Oglethorp, son of Sir Theophilus and his Lady Elinor, b. 1."

Still there are other disparities to be reconciled. It is stated in Manning and Bray's 'History of Surrey,' vol. i. p. 610, that "his subscription to the Articles appears in the University Register; and in the Matriculation Book is the following entry, viz., 'July 9, 1714, Jacobus Oglethorpe, ætat. 16, Theophili Oglethorpe, Sancti Jacobi Londinensis, Equitis aurati, filius natu minor.'" I fancied that the year might be 1704 and not 1714, and therefore wrote to the Reverend Doctor Norris, President of Corpus Christi College, who has kindly sent me a transcript from the Buttery Book:—"Jacobus Oglethorpe Equitis Aurati Filius Julii 3° 1714." This entry, it will have been observed, does not repeat the age, and it is possible that Oglethorpe, like many other young officers, may not have entered college until after the termination of the war. From the fact of his being *created* M.A. on the 31st of July, 1731,* it may be inferred that he did not continue his undergraduate course regularly; and, indeed, if he did not matriculate until 1714, he could not have done so, as we find him in 1716 acting as aide-de-camp to Prince Eugene. He must have then been more than eighteen years of age, which tends to contradict so much of the statement by Manning and Bray.

With respect to the time of Oglethorpe's entrance into the English army, further difficulties present themselves. 'The European Magazine' states 1710 to have been the year; but in the short account of him appended to the published sketch taken in 1785, it is said that he was an ensign in 1706; and Colonel Ponsonby, of the Grenadier Guards, assures me that, in an old MS. list of the regiment of 1710, the name of James Oglethorpe appears with others junior to him, as if he might have been in the corps for two or three years. This supposition seems to be almost conclusively corroborated by the following note from the Duke of Marlborough to Lady Oglethorpe:—

* 'Catalogue of Graduates,' Oxford, 1815.

"Camp at Walsbergen, Sept. 17, 1705.

"MADAM,—There being now an opportunity, the first that has happened since I left England, of providing for your son in the Guards, if you please to send me the young gentleman's Christian name, his commission shall be dispatched immediately,

"I am, with truth, Madam, etc.,

"M." *

Now, as but two sons of Lady Oglethorpe—Theophilus and James—were living at the time, the above must apply to either of them. Theophilus, however, was then in his twenty-fourth year, and as he is said to have served as aide-de-camp to the Duke of Ormond, and also appears to have attained the rank of adjutant-general previous to 1714, it would follow that he began his military career some years earlier than 1705 or 1706. Moreover, in those days, officers with such powerful interest entered the army very young. Hence, the regimental tradition to the effect that James Oglethorpe obtained his first commission in 1706 is most probably correct. A battalion of the First Foot Guards was then serving in Flanders. Two years later, several additional companies were sent to Marlborough's army; and it may have been while he was employed with some of these detachments that he attracted the notice of Prince Eugene.

In the year 1707 appeared a pamphlet with the following title:—'Mrs. Frances Shaftoe's Narrative; containing an Account of her being in Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe's Family; where hearing many Treasonable Things, and amongst them that the Pretended Prince of Wales was Sir Theophilus's son, she was tricked into France by Sir Theophilus's daughters, and barbarously used to make her

* 'Letters and Dispatches of the Duke of Marlborough,' vol. ii. p. 268.

turn Papist and Nun, in order to prevent a Discovery; but at last made her escape to Suisserland, and from thence arrived in England, in December, 1706.'

No one now-a-days attaches the least credit to the Warming-Pan Story, upon which a long essay might be written, if the subject were worth it. Therefore, from the above pamphlet, which is composed with much plausibility, I shall only transcribe one or two of the passages wherein the name of our subject is mentioned. Let me first, however, remind the reader that the Prince of Wales, afterwards the Pretender, was born on the 10th of June, 1688:—

"Anne Oglethorpe told me that the first pretended Prince of Wales died of convulsion fits, at the age of five or six weeks old; but her mother had a little son some days older than the Prince of Wales, and her mother took her little brother *J mes* in all haste, and went to London with him, for she had been at her country-house; but her little brother was sick, the Prince and he were both sick together, and her little brother died or was lost, but that was a secret between her mother and Queen Mary. . . . Anne Oglethorpe said that, about seven months after her little brother James had been made second Prince of Wales, then the Prince of Orange came to England, and that spoiled all their fortunes!"

II.

(Page 79.)

> "Lo! swarming southward, on rejoicing suns,
> Gay colonies extend."

There would seem to be an error somewhere in these lines, which to many persons besides myself are obscure.

Yet in every edition of Thomson's Poems that I have examined,—including a copy, in the British Museum, of the last edition corrected by the author, with MS. notes by Lord Lyttelton,—they stand as above. If the error be not in the word "suns,"—for which we might read "shores," it must be in the preposition, and "on" might give place to "'neath,"—a word not uncommonly used by Scottish poets. I have sent a query on the subject to the well-known organ for such matters, but, as yet, no reply has appeared.

III.

(Page 159.) Mr. Horton gave the following account of the detention of Major Richards and himself in St. Augustine:—On his arrival at St. George's Point, in April, he sent over to the Spanish look-out, expecting to find horses there, according to the Governor's appointment; but there being none, nor persons to be seen, after having expected them four days in vain, and Major Richards having no means of sending advice to St. Augustine of his arrival, he (Horton) offered to go, and set out on foot with two servants. The Sunday he left the Spanish look-out, he arrived at St. Augustine, being forty miles. He walked along the seashore; one servant kept up with him, the other not being able to hold out. A river which runs near the castle of St. Augustine must be passed by those who come from the look-out. In the evening he reached this river, and fired his gun several times as a signal for a boat to come and carry him over. At last one came, and he was conveyed to the Governor, who received him civilly. He then went to the house of Mr. Dempsey, who immediately sought the Governor to request that a party might be sent to fetch the man who had been left behind; for the Spaniards

were so apprehensive of Indians that they feared to venture beyond the river but in bodies. The Governor granted the request, and also next day sent horses to convey Major Richards from the look-out. The envoys were received with the greatest joy by the people, who looked upon them as the messengers of their deliverance, for bringing them the news that English boats patrolled the river to hinder the Indians from passing and molesting them. Richards and Horton waited for the Governor's answer to Mr. Oglethorpe's letter, which was daily promised them. One night, being invited, they went to "a general dancing" at the house of the Governor's interpreter, where they stayed till three o'clock next morning. They then returned to their lodgings and went to bed, but before they awoke, the Town Major came with a file of musketeers and arrested them upon the false pretence that they had been taking plans of the town and castle. The same morning the Governor, accompanied by officers and the public scrivener, came to Mr. Dempsey's, and began a formal examination of Major Richards. The Governor having demanded what brought him there, he answered, that he came in pursuance of his promise to return with letters from Mr. Oglethorpe. His Excellency then asked where Mr. Oglethorpe was, and Richards said he had left him at Frederica. Whereupon the Governor inquired, what fortifications and number of men were there; to which the Major replied, he did not know. They afterwards examined Horton, who refused to give any information, and they threatened to send him to the mines. Next day, however, upon Mr. Dempsey's application, the guards were taken off. Some days later, Don Ignatio Rosso was sent out with a detachment in a launch. He stayed away five days, and returned extremely fatigued (the men having rowed the skin off their hands), reporting that the islands were all fortified, and full of men and armed boats. After this it was resolved by a council of war to send home Richards and Horton, and also dispatch

Mr. Dempsey, Don Pedro Lamberto, and Don Manuel D'Arcy, on a mission of friendship to Mr. Oglethorpe.—*Francis Moore's Journal*, pp. 100–102.

IV.

(Page 187.) Doctor Burton, who was President of Christ Church, had a full knowledge of the Wesleys' Oxford career; and guessing on what rocks they were likely to strike, on the 28th of September, not long before the brothers embarked, he wrote a fatherly letter to John. The Doctor, first reminding him of the advantage they would have from Mr. Oglethorpe's influence giving weight to their endeavours, after some remarks upon general behaviour, manner of address, etc., continues thus :—"You will keep in view the pattern of the Gospel preacher, St. Paul, who became all things to all men that he might save some. Here is a nice trial of Christian prudence. Accordingly, in every case you will distinguish between what is indispensable and what is variable; between what is divine and what is of human authority. I mention this because men are apt to deceive themselves in such cases; and we see the traditions and ordinances of men frequently insisted on with more rigour than the commandments of God, to which they are subordinate. Singularities of less importance are often espoused with more zeal than the weighty matters of God's law. As in all points we love ourselves, so, especially, in our hypotheses. Where a man has, as it were, a property in a notion, he is most industrious to improve it, and that in proportion to the labour of thought he has bestowed upon it; and, as its value rises in imagination, he is, in proportion, unwilling to give it up, and dwells upon it more pertinaciously than upon considerations of general necessity

and use. This is a flattering mistake, against which we should guard ourselves."

V.

(Page 286.) "Employing agents in stirring up lies and calumnies against me."

The following letter, the German original and English translation of which are amongst the Georgia Papers, should seem to present an instance of these lies and calumnies:—

"Frederick's Town, *August* 27, 1743.

"Most Gracious Sovereign,

"I hope your Majesty will not be offended that your humble petitioner has sent this embassy to your Majesty.

"I, Lewis Charles Rudolph, lawful son of Charles Rudolph, Duke of Wirtemberg, Earl of Mumpelgard, Lord of Heidenheim, Knight of the Danish order of the Elephant, General Field-Marshal to the King of Denmark, and Guardian of y^e^ House of Wirtemberg of the Stutgard line, etc. etc., was taken away at Gravesend by Captain William Thompson, a Scotchman, and carried on board his ship, which then lay in the Channel, contrary to all law and justice, in the year 1740, October the 30th.

"Captain Thompson carried me to sea; then he told me he would throw me overboard unless I would subscribe a written paper which I could not read. Afterwards he carried me to Frederick's Town in Georgia, where he sold me to General James Oglethorpe, who (notwithstanding he had proof given him of my family, and money offered him to let me go to England) showed himself a tyrant towards me; insomuch that no negro has been treated so bad as I; for he sent me into the plantations, where I was obliged to

stand and work in the sun the whole day; and was it not for some friends I must go naked. And I declare before God, the Almighty Governor of heaven and earth, that I have not at this time a good shirt to put on, and am in a miserable condition.

"I beseech your Majesty to give me, a poor Prince of Wirtemberg, speedy relief, and to send a ship on purpose to bring me away from this place to London, that I may lay my case before your Majesty by word of mouth, hoping that the English law will give me satisfaction. I further petition your Majesty to send me by the ship which is to bring me away as much money as is sufficient to carry me to London in a manner suitable to my rank, and that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to receive favourably my ambassadour (whose name is John Peter Bretz, born in Piemont, from whence he was forced to fly on account of his religion; he has been always my great friend, and now takes this journey for me at his own expense), and to lend him as much money as he shall have occasion for, which shall be most thankfully repaid as soon as I come to London, and can get the money remitted from Germany.

"Since my being here in slavery I have wrote twice to your Majesty. My first letters fell into General Oglethorpe's hands, who broke them open and tore them to pieces before my face, notwithstanding they were directed to your Majesty. I can't tell whether my second letter came or not, but having had no answer, I find myself obliged to dispatch my dear friend to your Majesty, whom I have ordered to stay in London till I come, hoping your Majesty will not let him want till that time. I wait for a a quick and favourable answer, and am,

"Your Majesty's most obliged Servant,

"Lewis Charles Rudolph,

"Prince of Wirtemberg,

"Now a Slave in Georgia."

VI.

(Page 361.)—After Oglethorpe's acquittal in 1746, numerous attacks were made upon him, amongst which was 'Philaxias. Both sides of the Question; or, a Candid Enquiry into a certain Doubtful Character, in a Letter to a General Officer remarkably acquitted by a C—t M—l;' and, about the same time, the scandalous 'Shafto Narrative' reached a second edition.

A story is current in Godalming, which I have never seen in print, and for which I could obtain no authority. It is said that, at the battle of Culloden, the Duke of Cumberland, coming suddenly upon Oglethorpe in his camp, found him intently reading some papers. "What have you got there?" demanded the Duke. The General made no reply, but threw the papers into the fire and put his foot on them. His Royal Highness tried to recover them, but not succeeding, remarked,—"Oglethorpe, you are a head too tall!"—meaning that he ought to be beheaded. The General, it is added, immediately retired from the army to Westbrook, and fortified the place with "martello" towers, and high walls commanding the pass which leads from Godalming to Portsmouth! It is a pity to spoil so dramatic a tale, but we know that Oglethorpe was not at Culloden; nor was there opportunity for the first scene to have been acted during the chase of the rebels to Carlisle. The so-called martello towers, moreover, are simply turrets upon the wall of what is still named the "Vinery;" and this wall was evidently built before 1746. It is needless to say that Oglethorpe was not so mad as to dream of fortifying Westbrook against the Government; and as to his imputed disloyalty, there is not a particle of evidence to support the charge, beyond a slight colour of probability arising out of the political tendencies of the family.

After Oglethorpe's death, it was spitefully stated by Philip Thicknesse, who in his youth was befriended by the General, and afterwards lost his favour, that, for many years after the Rebellion, "he was in such awkward circumstances that he practised physic in and about Brussels;"* but the mere facts that, in 1744, Oglethorpe purchased the estates of Puttenham Bury and Puttenham Priory, Surrey, and resold them in 1761, refute the silly falsehood.†

VII.

(Page 385.)—The monumental tablet in Cranham Church bears the following inscription, written by Mr. Capel Lofft:—

Near this place lie the remains of
JAMES EDWARD OGLETHORPE, ESQ.,
who served under Prince Eugene,
and in 1714 was Captain-Lieutenant
in the 1st troop of Queen's Guards.
In 1740 he was appointed Colonel of a regiment
to be raised for Georgia.
In 1745 he was appointed Major-General;
in 1747, Lieutenant-General; and
in 1765, General of His Majesty's forces.
In his civil station he was very early conspicuous.
He was chosen M.P. for Haslemere in Surrey
in 1722, and continued to represent it till 1754.
In the Committee of Parliament for enquiring into
the state of the Gaols, formed Feb. 25th, 1728,
and of which he was Chairman,

* See article signed "T." in 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. lv. p. 701, and Nichols's 'Literary Anecdotes,' vol. ix. 257.

† Brayley's 'History of Surrey,' vol. v. p. 240.

the active and persevering zeal of his benevolence
found a truly suitable employment,
by visiting, with his colleagues of that generous body,
the dark and pestilential dungeons of the prisons
which at that time dishonoured the Metropolis,
detecting the most enormous oppressions;
obtaining exemplary punishment on those
who had been guilty of such outrages against Humanity and
Justice, and restoring multitudes from extreme misery
to light and freedom.
Of these, about 700, rendered,
by long confinement for debt,
strangers and helpless in the country of their birth, and
desirous of seeking an asylum in the wilds of America,
were by him conducted thither in 1732.
He willingly encountered in their behalf a variety
of fatigue and danger, and thus became the
Founder of the Colony of Georgia; which
(founded on the ardent wish for liberty)
set the noble example of prohibiting the importation of Slaves.
This new establishment he strenuously and successfully defended
against a powerful invasion of the Spaniards.
In the year in which he quitted England to found this Settlement,
he nobly strove to restore our true national defences by
Sea and Land,
a free Navy without impressing; a constitutional Militia.
But his social affections were more enlarged than
even the term Patriotism can express.
He was the friend of the oppressed Negro;
no part of the world was too remote,
no interest too unconnected or too opposed to his own,
to prevent his immediate succour of suffering humanity.
For such qualities he received from the ever-
memorable JOHN, DUKE OF ARGYLE,
a full testimony in the British Senate to
his military character, his natural generosity,
his contempt of danger, and his regard for the Publick.
A similar encomium is perpetuated in a foreign language;*

* Abbé Raynal's 'Histoire Philosophique et Politique.'

and, by one of our most celebrated Poets, his remembrance
is transmitted to Posterity in lines justly expressive
of the purity, the ardor, the extent of his benevolence.
He lived till the 1st of July 1785,
a venerable instance to what a fulness of duration
and of continued usefulness
a life of temperance and virtuous labor
is capable of being protracted.
His widow, Elizabeth,
Daughter of Sir Nathan Wrighte, of Cranham-hall, Essex, Bart.,
and only sister and heiress of Sir Samuel Wrighte, Bart., of the
same place, surviving with regret
(though with due submission to Divine Providence)
an affectionate husband, after an union of more than 40 years,
hath inscribed to his memory
These faint traces of his excellent character.

Then follow some feeble verses by the Rev. Moses Browne, and underneath:—

"His disconsolate widow died the 26th of October, 1787, in her 79th year, and is buried in this chancel. Her fortitude of mind and extensive charity deserve to be remembered, though her own modesty would desire them to be forgot."

VIII.

(Page 385.) Mrs. Oglethorpe, by her will, which is very long and has several codicils, left the estates in Surrey, settled upon her by the General, to his great-nephew, Eugene, Marquis de Bellegarde, with all her plate, jewels, etc.; but as he resided abroad, she gave the Manors of Westbrook and Brinscombe in trust to be sold, and the

proceeds to be paid to the Marquis. The Cranham estate she bequeathed to her own nephew, Sir Thomas Apreece, and the Manor of Canewdon Hall she ordered to be sold to meet large legacies to the Princesse de Rohan and the Princesse de Ligne, her husband's nieces, besides other legacies to various persons. She left the Manor of Fairstead, Essex, to Mr. Granville Sharpe for life, to be appropriated, at his discretion, to charitable uses after his death. Her property appears to have been very considerable; and her executors were Mrs. Dickinson, of Tottenham, and Mr. Sharpe, the lady being residuary legatee.

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